LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LXXXXX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1939 NUMBER 1290

Peace in the Balance

What is coming in Europe? In her article on page 67 of this issue Mme. Genevieve Tabouis, foreign editor of L'Oeuvre, makes an arresting analysis of events. Hitler, she says, is about to seize not only Danzig but the Corridor. He believes he can do this without war, that there is one more Munich left in the democracies, and also that he must strike now or never. It is impossible for anyone writing at this distance to say whether Mme. Tabouis is right or wrong; but events during the few days since her article was written in Paris seem to lend support to much of her thesis.

Nothing is clear as to what has happened in Europe during the past week. We hear rumors—maybe true, maybe for effect—that Mussolini was badly frightened by Hitler's intentions whether in regard to Danzig, Hungary or something else. It was all right for his axis partner to threaten the democracies, but when these threats seemed to turn into a real danger, that was different. He sent Ciano to confer with Hitler, supposedly in the effort to persuade Der Führer not to do anything rash. Following their conference the air was full of predictions of a possible four-power discussion of the fate of Danzig, to be initiated by the Pope, and of mediation through the League of Nations Commissioner at Danzig. Such negotiations would fit in all too well with Mme. Tabouis' gloomy predictions. If she is right, Hitler's cardinal purpose is to keep the democracies as quiet as possible for a few weeks until after he has been able to bring off his latest diplomatic coup.

Mussolini and His Partner

That Mussolini is eager to avoid war goes without saying. In the military sense, he is even less ready for it than Hitler. He would be particularly sorry to join in a demonstration of strength which resulted in turning Hungary over to the Germans, since that would greatly weaken his own position in the Balkans. Up to now in the association between the two powers Mussolini has got most of the kicks and Hitler the ha'pence. To be sure, if Hitler orders war, it will be difficult for Mussolini to back out, although Italy did so under similar circumstances in 1914. Whatever his intention, however, his present role is to act the peacemaker if he can, and there is no doubt that he has been busy not only in Berlin but in Paris and Rome.

Alliance or Bluff?

Hitler's tactics are ominously like those which preceded his seizure of the Sudetenland. The German press has been turned full blast against Poland. Herr Goebbels pulls the strings and the Nazis in Danzig obediently shout for annexation. Above all, Hitler manages to create a sense of haste and urgency for which there is no justification whatever. There is no problem in Danzig that could not perfectly well wait a few months or a few years for solution. No doubt Hitler suffers from a sense of compulsion that is part of his mania. He hears inward voices, believes that the stars control his destiny—or he theirs. At bottom, he is a madman, although an extremely shrewd and cunning one, who has over and over again shown himself

CONTENTS

The Week 57

Editorials
- The Attack on Monopoly 61
- Killing the Writers' Project 62
- Let Citizens Vote! 62
- In Reply to a Committee 63

General Articles
- After the New Deal: VI . Mordecai Ezekiel 64
- Hitler's Danzig Plans . . Genevieve Tabouis 67
- Massachusetts Justice Revalued . Waldo Cook 68
- Not in the Cables . . . . George Weller, Lawrence A. Fernsworth and Theodore Draper 70
- Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 73
- Other People's Money . . John T. Flynn 74
- Pick of the Pictures . . . Otis Ferguson 75
- The Bandwagon 76

Correspondence 76

Emerson in His Time . . . Van Wyck Brooks 78

Books in Review
- Low, Jack and the Game . John Chamberlain 80
- Sense About Race . . . . Harold Ward 81
- Changing the World . . Richard O'Connell 82
- Lamb Among the Wolves . Miriam Borgenicht 83
- New Books: A Reader's List 84

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1939, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49TH ST., NEW YORK, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the master of the psychologically saner but politically less resolute politicians in Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay.

The events of the past week underline more clearly than before the folly of Chamberlain's delay in coming to terms with Soviet Russia. The details over which they boggled now seem ludicrously unimportant compared with the opportunity that has been created for Hitler. In retrospect it appears increasingly likely that Chamberlain didn't really mean what he said about his firm intention to make an alliance with Moscow. Apparently he was trying to bluff Hitler with the threat of such an alliance, and Hitler wouldn't bluff. Appeasement yet continues in the back of the Prime Minister's mind, and it has helped to bring him to his present desperate pass. It is still possible, of course, that Danzig will pass peacefully and that the real crisis, over Poland itself or Hungary, may be postponed for some time. But it will come again, and bigger for the delay.

A Rebuke to the Oil Companies

You wouldn't be able to tell from most of the headlines what was the real news in the public statement by Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles about the Mexican oil controversy. The startling thing about the document was that the big American oil companies had rejected a compromise settlement proposed by the State Department, and that the Department was warning them that their refractory behavior is injurious to good relations between the two countries. At the same time, the Secretary warned the Mexican government that it must not take this deadlock as an excuse for withholding compensation, but he could hardly have omitted to say this, in the circumstances. To us, it is some kind of new high in intelligent foreign relations when a foreign office, instead of pushing the interests of its national capitalists to the limit, publicly rebukes them for failing to compromise. We hope the oil companies will take the hint. If Mexican oil goes to Hitler, and relations are strained between the United States and Mexico, they must shoulder a good share of the blame.

No News, Good News

It would be news if the Young Democrats did not favor President Roosevelt and the New Deal, but they do, and voted so overwhelmingly at their convention in Pittsburgh. Garnerites and Eastern conservatives tried their best to muster strength in the convention, but without much result, as far as any surface indications go. There was a temporary flurry about what the passage of the Hatch Bill might do to participation in the convention on the part of federal office-holders, but apparently it had small effect on the general outcome. You couldn't find many young democrats anywhere, to say nothing of Young Democrats, who want their party to nominate an ancient Tory or to drift to the right of the Republicans.

Poor, Persecuted Propagandists

The National Association of Manufacturers thinks the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee is unfair in revealing its recent record of opposition to organized labor, the Labor Relations Law and Board, and the Roosevelt administration. It does not deny the facts, but it retorts that this is a free country, that it has the right to engage in publicity and politics as it pleases, and that to attack it for doing so while not mentioning labor activities in the same field is discriminatory. But our old friend the NAM overlooks the good reasons for the revelation, as follows:

1. Much of what it did was secret; the propaganda was not tagged with its source. Free speech doesn't mean that nobody should know the truth about our Charlie McCarthy's.

2. It not only engaged in efforts to change the law, but also abetted disobedience of the law. Many of those who are working hardest to amend the Wagner Act have never obeyed it. This important fact might not have been widely known if the Committee had not told us.

3. Most of the money and most of the control behind these activities came from a small inner group of "Brass Hats," rather than from the numerous and mainly law-abiding members of the NAM. Perhaps smaller business men would like to know what the big bandits are doing with their association.

Bridges Defends Himself

Nobody can tell much at long distance, reading nothing but newspaper reports, about the progress of a trial, but we can say without hesitation that Harry Bridges in his own testimony at the deportation hearings made a stunning case for himself. He is not, he says, a member of the Communist Party and never has been. He does not believe in the overthrow of this government by force and violence. He does not know what the Communists believe about it. This alone would be sufficient to clear him of the charge, unless it was controverted by reliable evidence. As Mr. James M. Landis pointed out in his remarks from the bench, an alien cannot be deported simply because someone thinks he is undesirable or holds wrong opinions, but only because he is a member of an organization believing in the violent overthrow of government. But Mr. Bridges went much further than this in expounding his opinions, and showed extraordinary good sense in what he said. He welcomes aid from Communists as long as they really help the union, but he would not allow them to take over union control for their own purposes. Unions are too busy with immediate problems to pay much attention to theoretical political questions. He believes that the class struggle is a fact, here and now; he has seen it working out in bitter and violent opposition by reactionary employers' groups to organized

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labor. He favors democracy and wants more of it; he believes in a larger measure of public ownership. . . . The witnesses against him seem to be largely of shady reputation and unreliable; the defense is making determined efforts to show that they were bought and that the whole case against Bridges is a conspiracy.

Foreign Agents

About a year ago, Congress passed a law requiring that agents of foreign governments, living in the United States, should register with the Department of State, saying what they do and how much they are paid. Although these records of the Department are open to public inspection, very few people have taken the trouble to look through them. Among the exceptions is Dr. Helen Reid of the University of Buffalo, who recently reported some of her findings before the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia:

Frederick Moore, of Washington, D. C., says he has been receiving $500 a month from the Japanese government since 1934 and $10,000 a year from the South Manchurian Railway since 1936 for acting as adviser on American and international matters.

Alexander Cairns, LL.D., Bloomfield, N. J., receives $25 from the Japanese government for each speech he gives before Rotary Clubs and similar groups trying to create good feeling for Japan.

Fred V. Williams of San Francisco gets $300 a month from the Japanese Committee on Trade and Information for publicity to promote good will toward Japan.

On the other side of the fence is Carl Byoir and Associates, Inc., a New York firm, which has received $30,000, over about a year, from Transpacific News Service, itself a registered agent of the Chinese government, for raising money for civilian relief in China. Transpacific News Service gets $15,000 a month for presenting China's case.

W. W. Davies gets $25,000 a year from Argentina for disseminating information about that country.

Francisco de S. Larcegui gets $225 a month as a joint payment by Guatemala, Honduras and the Dominican Republic for publishing a news bulletin called Interamerican Information Service.

We do not say that the activities of these men and institutions are objectionable. Some of them, no doubt, perform a useful international service. Probably, also, some of the most active and sinister foreign propagandists manage to evade the law. Nevertheless, it is a healthy thing that we should know who pays whom for what.

Colchicine

By the time the microfilm records of the year 1939 have been filed away on the top shelves of public libraries, it is possible that their most interesting feature, from a research student's point of view, will be the calm with which we have greeted the first experiments with the chemical, colchicine. The Department of Agriculture has been using the stuff, extracted from the meadow saffron or the autumn crocus, in its plant-breeding experiments for three years. It is not a new discovery. Early Greek and Aztec physicians used it to treat early Greek and Aztec citizens for the gout. But colchicine is making scientific news by hurrying along the evolutionary development of various plants. It paralyses the usual process of cell-division and traps all of the chromosomes together instead of letting them split in two. Once the number of chromosomes in a single cell has been doubled, the scientists say, anything can happen. Already the chemical has produced a tobacco plant with an extraordinarily high nicotine content, strange varieties of raspberries, strawberries and peaches and a long-fibered cotton with great resistance to disease, drought and insects. One day, perhaps, colchicine will be used to speed up the evolutionary development of human beings. We could very well use a large-brained man with great resistance to disease, propaganda and hatred.

Canada Approaches an Election

Reports from Canada predict a federal election there in the fall, barring a major European crisis. The present Liberal administration plans to stand on its lamentably inadequate record while the other established parties are speaking as usual of new candidates, constituencies and victories. But a fresh political group called the New Democracy Party has been formed by the Honorable W. D. Herridge, an ex-Tory and ex-Minister to Washington. It is a sort of neo-popular front, progressive but not radical, which is trying to organize the minority parties into a common opposition against the established Liberals and Conservatives. Many responsible liberals are suspicious of Herridge and his movement; in particular the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation has refused to join it. In any case it is unlikely that the new coalition, despite the tragic limitations of the older parties, will be strong enough to win an election in the near future.

A Sporting Proposition

Commander Stephen King-Hall, an Englishman, got into the news a few weeks ago by sending a letter to a great many people in Germany urging them not to let Hitler drag them into war. Propaganda Minister Goebbels wrote an angry reply and then complained that the London newspapers wouldn't publish it. Thereupon Commander King-Hall printed the Goebbels document as an advertisement in the London press, and made the sporting challenge to Goebbels to do the same for the King-Hall letter in Berlin. Last week it hadn't appeared. Next week it won't appear either.

Germany Is Reborn

Under Nazi rule in Germany, there has been a decline of 53.7 percent in the number of university students, with greater losses in engineering and the natu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ral sciences. University teaching staffs have declined 15.8 percent; the University of Vienna in one year of German occupation lost 48.1 percent of its teaching staff. It is estimated that about 1,500 scientific workers in the universities have lost their jobs for political reasons. Pages of research articles published in German chemical, bio-chemical and physiological journals have fallen by 50 percent or more. The teaching and development of theoretical physics have been virtually forbidden. The two leading German sociological journals are now published in exile—in Paris and New York. The formerly distinguished philosophical journal Logos has become a propaganda instrument. These facts come by way of the Science News Letter from a documented report prepared by the American Association of Scientific Workers. How many million *Heils* does it take to balance such losses?

Sad Little Note on France

An American living in France recently ordered some books to be sent to him from England by mail. Presently the French authorities notified him that they had arrived but he couldn't have them. The reason? Because they dealt with Spain and were not sufficiently respectful to Franco.

Sad Little Note on Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico may be a Caribbean paradise, but not all its inhabitants seem to think so. A local correspondent of The New York Times complains that a number of Puerto Ricans have lately been smashing letter boxes. This is a federal offense which generally leads to a term in Atlanta Penitentiary. Those who commit this crime would rather be in prison in Georgia than be free men on their native island.

For the World of Tomorrow

One of our readers asked, "Do they mean to stuff the pelt or merely mount the head?" . . . The pelt and the head were those of Ray Olson, who, during his brief career, was a Wisconsin desperado. Some weeks ago a posse cornered him in the woods and shot him down while he was trying to launch a boat and escape across Lake Namakagon. As he lay dying, Olson confessed to killing two deputy sheriffs who had tried to arrest him. The posse listened to his last words, stacked their pump guns and army rifles across his body—exactly as if it were that of a twelve-tined buck—then squatted behind it and had themselves photographed. The picture shows six heavy-jowled men in checked lumbermen's shirts and suede jackets, with eyes like black nickel-sized slots in their expressionless faces. It must have been reproduced in scores of American newspapers; our own copy of it came from Austin, Texas. Looking at it, we thought of a better idea than either of those suggested by our correspondent. The head ought to be shrunk to the size of a fist, using the method perfected by a tribe of South American Indians. Then it ought to be preserved in the Time Capsule, with the other imperishable relics of our civilization.

An Economic Invention That Works

Apparently the administration has hit upon a great idea in the blue-stamp food plan. Like all good ideas, this is simple in principle—why not pay the farmers for their "surplus" food and give it to those city people who need it? Surely this is better than to restrict output or dump crops abroad or hold them to be spoiled. But this particular idea has been carefully formulated in detail and has been tested experimentally on a small scale. The food is not given directly by the government, thus causing bureaucratic mistakes, local corruption and heart-burning on the part of merchants. It is distributed through the food stores, and is chosen, bought and paid for by the recipients, with stamps allotted to them in proportion to their regular purchases of non-surplus foods. The plan, when tried in Rochester, worked to everyone's satisfaction and raised food sales 12 percent. It is now being extended to many other cities. In addition, a new experiment is being tried: food stamps are being distributed to non-relief families in the low-income groups. Maybe we shall be able to alleviate the farm problem and the nutrition problem at the same time—pending a real solution by the provision of enough employment and income for city folks.

News Notes of a Week

Great Britain made another humiliating concession to Japan. The four Chinese, so-called terrorists, who had taken refuge in the British concession in Tientsin were handed over to the Japanese for execution. The news caused indignation in London, since it was obvious that the action was no more justified now than it would have been a few weeks earlier and that Great Britain was yielding to force. . . . There were rumors, promptly denied by Rome, that Yugoslavia would maintain strict neutrality by denying the use of her roads and military supplies to Italy in case of war. . . . Great Britain and Poland were working out the details of a firm alliance.

Riots over anti-Semitism which have been occurring in the streets of New York for months were unusually violent last week, with several persons injured. The anti-Semites, who do their utmost to create disturbances, are said to be mainly members of the Christian Front, a Catholic group which has numerous sympathizers in the New York City police force. . . . Dairymen in New York State began a strike to force a price of $2.35 per hundred pounds of milk for the next three months. . . . The Newspaper Guild, meeting in San Francisco, reëlected Heywood Broun as president and in general continued its past policies. . . . The La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, granted $50,000 in the last mo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments before Congress adjourned, prepared to investigate the Associated Farmers, the powerful anti-labor group on the Pacific Coast which hides behind an innocent agrarian name. . . . The greatest news of the last 500 years came with the announcement that hangover headaches can now be prevented by immunizing the individual with small does of histamine.

The Attack on Monopoly

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID about the new recipés of the administration for breaking the capital log-jam, like the spending-lending plan, but relatively little about its old-fashioned attack, the anti-trust drive under Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold. Yet this is going on full force, without any new legislation, and on the basis of laws that have been on the statute books for years. Perhaps it is inaccurate to speak of it as old-fashioned, since no real attempt has ever before been made to enforce these laws. There have been, to be sure, a few spectacular suits against giant combinations, but even in Theodore Roosevelt's time the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice contained only a small staff, and since then it has had little to do. Nevertheless the ideas behind the drive are old-fashioned, even if the action is not.

People who object to new-fangled conceptions like national planning, deficit-spending or government ownership and control have no logical refuge except free competition. Conservative economics, on the basis of which publicists argue eloquently against the new ideas, is founded on the premise that competition is so nearly universal that it acts as an automatic regulator of prices, production, wages, capital investment and everything else. If competition is not prevalent—and everyone knows it is not—then the conclusions drawn by the conservatives have little relation to fact. There is just one principle on which economists of nearly every school can agree—that a laissez-faire economic system simply will not work if it is restricted at important points by monopolistic practices. An attempt to search out and stop these practices therefore should be heartily applauded by the bitterest enemies of the Roosevelt regime, provided their opposition is based on anything resembling respectable theory. Enforcement of competition is woven into the same cloth as budget-balancing, sound money, and all the other standbys of orthodox economics.

No capitalist nation that we know of has ever yet succeeded in enforcing free competition throughout its more important industries; most of them have given up even the attempt. Yet it may be as well to make the attempt in order to find out whether it really can be done. A sufficiently vigorous effort ought to settle the question one way or another. And once the question is settled in some way outside the nebulosity of academic debate, where it usually resides, we shall have something to go on.

Certainly a vigorous effort is now being made. The anti-trust division has obtained a large appropriation from Congress; it has built up its staff by the addition of scores of keen lawyers and trained investigators. It is looking carefully into every situation where charges of restraint of trade are made. Wherever it has reason to believe these charges are justified and can legally be pressed, it is attacking all the persons concerned, whether they are the aggressors or merely the victims coerced into agreement by the aggressors. No occupation is sacrosanct to its searchlight—whether it be the medical profession or the building trades. It is, furthermore, showing that it means business by prosecuting the alleged violators and asking for jail sentences, rather than suing for dissolution and damages—penalties that corporations have learned how to evade or bear with equanimity. If the defendants will agree to forego the practices complained of, the prosecution is dropped on the basis of a consent decree. The main purpose is not, of course, to penalize wrongdoers but rather to correct situations that maintain high prices or limit output.

We predict that before this campaign has gone very far in the courts, there will be a furious outcry against it from the very conservatives who previously have condemned the New Deal for its so-called radicalism. Other interests as well will be offended—not least, large and influential sections of the labor movement. An effort of this kind has many hurdles to jump—political opposition, unfriendly courts, and the state of the facts themselves, which permit business men to do many things in control of prices that are not illegal as the law is written or the courts are likely to construe it.

It would be surprising, even should all these hurdles be jumped, if mere anti-trust prosecution could clear the channels of commerce so that nothing else would be needed. Yet competition and the free market, where they can be effective, have their advantages over more conscious efforts at social control. And there will be a large residual advantage from a thoroughgoing attempt of this kind, no matter how much or how little may be achieved. There will be direct gains from lower prices and larger output where the drive has positive results. It is conceivable, for instance, that building might be thus affected, and new investment in building is a keystone of our economic structure. Where evils exist but nothing can be done to enforce competition, it will be recognized that some other sort of control is necessary. And those who are compelled to compete are likely to join the rest of us in urging that need. We are likely to come out with a solution that is not either all competition or none. In certain realms competition may be sufficient; in others newer devices will be required. Only the most resourceful and energetic attempt to enforce the anti-trust laws, win or lose, will give us the information on which to base future policy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Killing the Writers' Project

COLONEL HARRINGTON'S CAREER as director of WPA has gone from one disaster to another. Although he has been in office only a few months, WPA has been all but destroyed by actions which he either initiated or consented to without any real fight. Latest item in a bad record is the enforced dismissal of Henry G. Alsberg as director of the Federal Writers' Project. This project was one of the numerous worthy enterprises that were smeared with the Red label by the Dies and Woodrum committees, and Alsberg presumably is being made the scapegoat, however unjustly.

That it is unjust, everyone acquainted with the project knows. Under Alsberg's direction, the Writers' Project has a magnificent record of achievement, all the more remarkable when one considers the fact that his rank-and-file workers were without exception drawn from the unemployed. Already, the project has produced 100 full-size books, and 220 other publications. There are 128 more on the press, 69 finished manuscripts and another 600 in preparation. Of the books, all but two have appeared under the imprint of private publishers, many of them the most reputable in the country, without cost to the federal government. The praise they have had from professional critics, even those opposed on principle to WPA, has been extraordinary. Particularly in the state guides, a work of highest value to the American people for generations to come has been accomplished—a work, moreover, that could not possibly have been done by private enterprise.

Mr. Alsberg's retirement came at the worst possible moment for the future of the Writers' Project; indeed, if his superiors had wanted to destroy the whole project, this is just what they would have done. Under the law, Alsberg was given only until September 1 to obtain sponsorship in the individual states for the various local units, which must otherwise be abolished. The director and his Washington staff have been working heroically, night and day, seeking to bring this about, and have been meeting good success. Now a new director will have to take over. We have never heard of the gentleman and know nothing of his attainments, but no matter how brilliant he might be, it seems impossible for him to take up his duties, learn the ropes and finish the job of getting local sponsors by September 1.

If the higher-ups had decided to kill the Writers' Project, that fact would not be apparent for some time. With the work in progress, the project can coast along for several months and continue to make a good showing. The real test will come when the things already under way are finished, or are quietly scrapped.

We do not yet know whether the group of editors in Washington are all to be dismissed, along with their chief. If they are, it will be a sign that the project will no longer amount to anything. These are the men who have insisted on high standards throughout the states. It is they who have fought the local booster spirit which would have made each one of the state guides a Chamber of Commerce booklet turning Zenith City into paradise on earth. It is they who have helped to make the Writers' Project what it was beginning to be, a true and rich record of the varied life of America, its culture, its racial origins, its present status and its hopes. It will be a real tragedy if this is all destroyed; but that is what seems to us most likely to happen.

Let Citizens Vote!

THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH, Negroes and many white persons of small means are kept from voting by the restriction which permits the use of the franchise only to those who have paid the poll tax. While this is usually only $1 or $2, that represents a good deal of money to a family with a cash income of perhaps $200 a year. Moreover, the poll tax is often cumulative from year to year so that the total penalty payment may be $30 or $40.

This subject was frankly discussed at the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in Birmingham, Alabama, last November. Growing out of that conference has come a bill which was introduced in the closing days of the late congressional session by Representative Lee E. Geyer of California. The measure was introduced as an amendment to the Hatch Act which prevents "pernicious political activities" and it reads:

Section 1 A. The requirements in many places under the jurisdiction of the United States that a poll tax be paid as a prerequisite for voting at elections for the offices of President, Vice President, presidential elector, member of the Senate, and members of the House of Representatives has resulted in pernicious political activities in that frequently such taxes are paid for the voters by other persons as an inducement for voting for certain candidates. Experience proves that existing legislation prohibiting the making of expenditures to any person to induce persons to vote for certain candidates has failed to prevent this practice. It is therefore necessary, in order to insure the honesty of such elections, that the Congress forbid the requirement that poll taxes be paid as a prerequisite for voting at such elections.

Section 1 B. It is unlawful for any person, whether or not acting under the authority of the laws of a state or subdivision thereof, to require the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting, or registering to vote, at any election for a President or Vice President or presidential elector or Senator or member of the House of Representatives of the United States.

Nothing was done about this amendment in the last session; that was what its sponsors expected. It will be brought up again next January. Whether it is appropriate as an amendment to the Hatch Act is less im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

portant than the fact that millions of American citizens are now being kept from the polls on what amounts to a property qualification, and that an effort is being made to end this condition.

In Reply to a Committee

IN OUR ISSUE OF MAY 31 we reported the creation of a "Committee for Cultural Freedom." On June 14 we gave the news of the "League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism." This week we record, not another committee, but a document, an open letter, "To all active supporters of democracy and peace." It begins by saying:

One of the gravest problems confronting all those engaged in the struggle for democracy and peace, whether they be liberals, progressives, trade unionists or others, is how to unite their various forces so as to achieve victory for their common goal. The fascists . . . are intent on destroying such unity at all costs. . . . Realizing that here in America they cannot get far with a definitely pro-fascist appeal, they strive to pervert American anti-fascist sentiment to their own ends. . . . They have encouraged the fantastic falsehood that the USSR and the totalitarian states are basically alike. . . .

Some sincere American liberals have fallen into this trap and unwittingly aided a cause to which they are essentially opposed. Thus, a number of them have carelessly lent their signatures to the recent manifesto issued by the so-called Committee for Cultural Freedom. This manifesto denounces in vague, undefined terms all forms of "Dictatorship" and asserts that the fascist states and Soviet Russia equally menace American institutions.

Among the signers of this manifesto are individuals who have for years had as their chief political objective the maligning of the Soviet people and their government, and it is precisely these people who are the initiators and the controllers of the committee. . . .

The document then lists "ten basic points" in which "Soviet socialism differs fundamentally from totalitarian fascism." The Soviet Union is a bulwark against war and aggression, has eliminated racial and national prejudice within its borders, achieved public ownership of industry and collectivized agriculture. Through nationwide socialist planning it has raised living standards and abolished unemployment and depression. A pillar of its organization are the trade unions with nearly 24,000,000 members. It has emancipated woman and the family, developed an advanced system of child care, and brought culture and education to the masses on an unparalleled scale. Science has replaced myth and superstition. On dictatorship the document says:

The Soviet Union considers political dictatorship a transitional form and has shown a steadily expanding democracy in every sphere. Its epoch-making new constitution guarantees Soviet citizens universal suffrage, civil liberties, the right to employment, to leisure, to free education, to free medical care, to material security in sickness and old age, to equality of the sexes in all fields of activity and to equality for all races and nationalities.

The document declares there is a sound and permanent basis in mutual ideals for coöperation between the USA and the USSR on behalf of world peace and the security and freedom of all nations. It is signed by more than 400 people, of whose names we have room for only a few. We note among them:

Jay Allen, T. A. Bisson, Robert M. Coates, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Waldo Frank, Leo Huberman, Matthew Josephson, George Kaufman, Alexander Kaun, Rockwell Kent, John A. Kingsbury, Arthur Kober, Alfred Kreymborg, Paul de Kruif, Halford Luccock, Max Lerner, Klaus Mann, Harvey O'Connor, Clifford Odets, Frederick L. Schuman, Vida D. Scudder, George Seldes, I. F. Stone, Louis and Jean Starr Untermyer, James Thurber, Lynd Ward, William Carlos Williams, Richard Wright, Art Young, Leane Zugsmith, Albert Rhys Williams, Dashiell Hammett, Vincent Sheean, Donald Ogden Stewart and Maxwell S. Stewart.

It goes without saying that this document is like a lawyer's brief, or a statement of one side in a debate. It presents the arguments favorable to its thesis and omits those which go in the opposite direction. It seems less than candid, for example, in its remarks about dictatorship and civil liberties. Soviet Russia is a one-party country in which those who believe the party line to be wrong are not permitted to create a legal opposition but are treated as traitors and driven into underground activities which readily become treasonable in fact. We believe nevertheless that the general tendency of the document is the right one and that, as its authors say, continued friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union is not only possible but desirable in the present critical world situation.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

Editors
BRUCE BLIVEN MALCOLM COWLEY R. M. LOVETT
GEORGE SOULE STARK YOUNG

Assistant Editors OTIS FERGUSON ELIZABETH HULING

Contributing Editors
JAMES BENÉT BRUCE BLIVEN JR. H. N. BRAILSFORD
HEYWOOD BROUN JOHN T. FLYNN WALDO FRANK
E. C. LINDEMAN JON. MITCHELL LEWIS MUMFORD
REXFORD G. TUGWELL

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

E. G. WOOD, *Advertising Manager* BYRON DEXTER, *Circulation Manager*

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN, FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

EDITED AND PRODUCED UNDER UNION CONDITIONS BY CONTRACT WITH THE BOOK AND MAGAZINE GUILD, LOCAL 18, UOPWA, CIO.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After the New Deal[1]

VI: *Over the Horizon*

ONE FINDS MUCH to agree with in the recent articles by George Soule, and little to take exception to. His concluding sentence, "In an expanding economy every problem may be solved, in a contracting one all become unsolvable," is a basic maxim that should guide us all. The question remains, how can we break from our present near-stalemate into a new, vigorous and continuing expansion?

Present-day economic thinking is dominated by the thought and work of two men. One group worships at the feet of Saint Keynes, with his gospel of over-saving and under-investment, even though newly clothed in mystic garments of "propensity to save" and "propensity to consume." Pump-priming, government investment and high income taxes are the weapons this sect uses to bring current expenditures by the community up to the current value of the commodities and services produced.

A second group is devoted to the gospel as received by the Apostle Chamberlin, of Harvard, the discoverer (along with the Englishwoman Joan Robinson) of the Theory of Monopolistic Competition. This theory explains the way in which a group of large corporations, dominating a given field, pit their advertising, price policies and model styling against one another in such a way as not to drive prices down too uncomfortably low—not so low, say, as they would fall under pure competition. It explains the behavior of prices and production in that large sector of American industry which falls short of full monopoly by a single concern, and yet has long grown away from pure competition. Autos, steel, cement, oil, brick, glass, all are examples of this twilight zone, to mention only a few industries. Members of the sect which worships at this shrine include Thurman Arnold, Leon Henderson and the whole Temporary National Economic Committee effort. They believe that many corporations operate in such a way as to prevent gains in technological efficiency from being fully reflected either in lower selling prices or higher wages. In consequence, consumer buying power does not keep pace with production, and chronic unemployment results. To correct this situation, "something" needs to be done either to restore competition or to impose price control—but what that "something" is, the TNEC has not yet begun to decide.

Is there any way these two divergent diagnoses can be fused together? Is there any course of action we can adopt which will recognize both the economic difficulties of insufficient over-all buying power and the barriers of monopolistically supported prices that hamper essential economic progress?

Unless we do find something more positive than is now in evidence, the prospect is certainly grim enough. Louis Bean recently demonstrated that even if industrial activity expands as rapidly as the most optimistic can expect, 1940 will still find us with two-thirds as many unemployed in cities as we have today—and without any improvement at all in the lot of the two million excess families living in rural slums, waiting for industry to absorb them. Today 33,000,000 men and women are at work in city employment of all sorts, out of 42,000,000 persons in the cities available for employment. A year or two from now, we will be lucky if employment has gone up to 37,000,000; meanwhile city employables will have grown to 43,000,000. Six million will still be unemployed. Those 6,000,000 unemployed in the cities seems likely to be the irreducible minimum for a number of years ahead, unless we find far more positive means of expanding production than any we have thus far employed.

The answer lies, I believe, in a concerted program of expansion, definitely laid out in advance by our major heavy industries, and underwritten by the government. The government underwriting would take the form of insuring that the agreed production, when produced, would be sold. If it were not sold, the government would purchase the surplus at an agreed discount. The men's clothing industry, for example, is now cutting 14,000,000 suits a year—only one-third of a suit each year for each man in the country. With our national income stepped up from its present 70-billion level to the 80-to-85-billion-dollar range, there should be market demand for say 24,000,000 suits a year—an increase of 70 percent. The government guarantee would mean that if the industry produced the 24,000,000 suits, the government would buy up whatever surplus was left unsold at the end of the year, just as last summer it bought up $9,000,000 worth of surplus suits. That purchase cleaned up a congested situation, put thousands back at work and helped turn the tide of business upward again.

Merely increasing the number of men at work manufacturing clothing, however, would not make markets for the increased output. Only if the expansion in clothing were paralleled by a corresponding expansion in other key industries would consumers have the increased buying power to take the product.

The programs of expansion for each participating industry would need to cover not only the projected

[1] This is the sixth article in a series. The first three, by George Soule, appeared in our issues of May 17, May 24 and June 7. W. Jett Lauck wrote on July 5, and R. G. Tugwell on July 26.—THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

increase in production and employment, but also commitments as to wages and price changes. In many heavy industries, costs per unit fall rapidly as output rises. In steel, for example, financial circles are familiar with the fall in the "break-even" point as the percent of steel capacity operated rises. A statistical analysis of the United States Steel Corporation quarterly reports, allowing for changes in wage rates, shows that if wages per hour are held unchanged at about present levels, production costs per ton of product fall from $41 per ton when operating at 20 percent of capacity, to $29 per ton at 40 percent, and to $24 or less at 80 percent. (These costs are in terms of the composite average steel and iron quotation—prices in terms of finished steel alone would be correspondingly higher.) If the steel-expansion program moved U. S. Steel's sales from their present level of not much above 40 percent of capacity, up to say 70 percent, the corporation could reduce prices by an average of 5 percent, raise wages somewhat for the lower-paid men and still make very handsome profits. In return for its contract insuring each concern that the increased volume of output could be sold, the government should insist on these price and wage adjustments, which would help move the increased output into consumption. This would apply, of course, only to concerns in the key industries.

The program for each major industry and the general over-all program for all participating industries could be developed in a democratic manner. Representatives of labor should have equal power with representatives of management in the industry councils which prepared the industry programs. Public hearings should be held by the industry councils and the government agency which tied the programs together into a consistent whole, and public discussion of the programs encouraged. By making a special effort to use and develop public participation, and by developing the programs largely from the bottom up rather than from the top down, democracy could be not only maintained but intensified. Certainly the type of authoritarian dictation from the center, which characterizes Russia and Germany, should be avoided. We need economic planning, but we need it on a democratic basis.

Economic planning such as outlined above need not mean regimentation either of producer or of consumer. Participation in the planning process could give both management and labor a real sense of sharing in democratic objectives, democratically arrived at, while the assured level of demand for the year ahead would free both parties from many of the uncertainties on which they now must gamble. Such economic planning would also leave consumers free from regimentation. No effort would be made to ration purchases. Consumers would have more money to spend, and would be free to spend it as they saw fit. Production would be kept in balance with what was demanded, partly by advance statistical estimates of how the increased income would be spent, and partly by adjustments in carryovers when the plans did not work out exactly as expected.

This sketch of a positive industrial expansion program, deliberately planned in advance and underwritten by the government, necessarily ignores many problems which would be involved. The rates of expansion would obviously differ from industry to industry, if demand were to equal production. Each industry participating would have to determine how much its sales would probably increase with the stated increase in national income. Methods would have to be developed for allocating increased production among the various concerns in each industry, yet without strait-jacketing them. Capital-goods expansion would need to be provided for as well as consumer goods, involving longer-term programs for increasing capacity, industry by industry. Farm-production programs for products for domestic consumption (not cotton and wheat) would have to be adjusted upwards to provide for the widening markets. Railroads and other public utilities might have programs of their own, with assured higher traffic or sales making possible reduced charges and, in some cases, readjusted working conditions or higher pay. Possible lines of solution to these and other related operating details have been presented elsewhere; space permits only mentioning the problems here.

Along with the concerted industrial expansion some public invesment might be needed, at least in the early transitional years. That would help maintain the demand for the increased output and provide specific areas for heavy-goods expansion. Low-cost housing on a large-scale, self-liquidating basis is one prime candidate for such public investment. But under such a program public investment or deficit financing should become a constantly less important part of the whole system, as opportunities for private investment open up with rising activity, and as the downward adjustments of prices and upward adjustments of wages, especially the lowest wages, increase the "propensity to consume" faster than the "propensity to save."

A planned program of expansion, put into action along with continuing public expenditures, thus offers a way to weld the theories of Keynes and Chamberlin. It would control monopolistic competition by insisting that corporate prices in heavy industry fall as production increases, instead of increasing as in the past. It would attack over-saving both by creating a wider distribution of income and by continuing such parts of the present spending and tax policies as are needed to produce financial balance in the expanding economy.

The proposal for a concerted and balanced expansion of industrial activity under public leadership is one which many economists have been talking of for years. Quite evidently, it is along the general line of the proposal advanced in my book "$2,500 A Year," published three years ago. That book was received by the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conservative press—and by much of the extreme left-wing press—with hoots and derision. Any idea of conscious and concerted action for abundance was regarded as obvious evidence of an unsound or wandering mind. But in the intervening years opinion seems to have shifted. In January of 1939 I brought out a new book, "Jobs for All," developing essentially the same proposal and going further into the ways and means by which it might be made to work effectively. Despite the fact that the press is generally more openly hostile to the New Deal today than it was three years ago, the latest book has had an entirely different reception. There were practically no hoots or jeers. Even the conservative papers gave the book a very fair statement on its merits, and some followed with editorials which were definitely friendly. The labor press as a whole has given much space and friendliness to the idea. The religious press, too, commented on it widely and favorably, and the liberal Catholic press characterized it as a practical political procedure to put into action the principles enunciated by the late Pope in his great "Encyclical on Social Justice."

Something *has* happened. The country is aware that pump-priming alone, despite its temporary effectiveness, is not an enduring solution to unemployment. But many—probably a majority—hesitate to go back to the old ways that produced not only 1929 booms but 1932 depressions. They seem willing to consider new proposals, even daring ones, if they offer a rational basis for the action proposed.

I have previously maintained that it would take many years to build up a sound statistical and technical basis for a general program of planned expansion. Further, I have felt that we would be likely to adopt any new over-all program only when we were suffering in the throes of another great depression like that of 1932. These are the traditionally slow and leisurely processes of democratic discussion and democratic change. But the tremendously intensified pace of events in Europe is challenging democracies to speed their actions too.

Our army of unemployed men, our great masses of discouraged youths, are prime soil for demagogues. The two dozen German-Americans who recently sailed back to Germany preferred the loss of political freedom to the economic insecurity here. One of these emigrants said, as reported by Time, "What do you expect out of life? A job and enough money to live on. In Germany, there is work for everybody. The only thing you got better here is eats, and if you have no work you can't eat." This is only the first step. The next step will be to try to introduce here the system which claims to have worked elsewhere. Men without hope or futures here will more and more look to leaders who promise them what democracy has failed to deliver.

Voices are beginning to speak out for forceful action by democracy now—not action by-and-by. The American Farm Bureau Federation at its annual meeting last December passed a formal resolution urging the President to call a meeting of representatives of industry, labor and agriculture to prepare and agree upon a program "to promote economic balance . . . on a basis that will promote full utilization of our great productive resources." At the Farm Institute conference of industry, agriculture and labor at Des Moines a few months ago, Sidney Hillman, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and vice-president of the CIO, proposed a joint council of leaders of all three groups. He suggested the President call such a council and put squarely up to it the job of preparing a positive program for increased production and employment. The March issue of the AFL survey of business made a similar suggestion.

Not merely labor leaders but agricultural interests too have put themselves on record. At the same Des Moines meeting where Hillman spoke, Secretary Wallace suggested that the leaders of industry, labor and agriculture assemble a council of their own, prepare a program of increased production and employment, and then ask government for such help as they needed from it to put the program into action. Ed O'Neal, president of the Farm Bureau Federation and one of the most powerful single figures in American agriculture, has repeatedly declared his interest in such a council of all three economic groups.

Some business men have similarly spoken out for concerted action to increase production. William H. Hoover, president of the Employers' Insurance Company of Alabama, attracted nationwide publicity last fall when he proposed that all industries jointly increase the number of their workers by 10 percent. While his proposal ignored the technical problems involved in securing a proper balance in the expansion as between different industries, it indicated a recognition of the need for positive action to bring about increased employment and production which is common to many forward-thinking business men.

The actual job of working out a balanced program of expansion, even for a few major industries, would be one of tremendous problems and infinite ramifications. Any program for the near future would be at best a very sketchy one, with much extemporizing and many shortcomings. But if the job is difficult and precarious, the goal is a challenging one—to make democracy function so well, on the economic side, that no opening is left for authoritarian systems to offer a better way. We are playing for high stakes. They deserve our utmost efforts. Labor and agriculture stand ready to share in the attempt to work out programs of increasing production. Such programs may again make our system "an expanding economy [where] every problem may be solved." But the effort cannot succeed, cannot even be made, unless industry works with labor and agriculture. Can our leaders of industry be persuaded to join such a bold attempt?

MORDECAI EZEKIEL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hitler's Danzig Plans

THE FÜHRER has worked out to the last detail the plan he has devised for obtaining Danzig and part of Poland without recourse to war and without even the risk of a combat.

In future history books the date of August 2, 1939, will perhaps be given the same importance as that of June 30, 1914, date of the Sarajevo assassination. It seems that on this August 2, 1939, Hitler took a position that renders all retreat impossible.

A few days before, on Friday, July 28, the Führer called together his general staff and for eight long hours went over their definitive plans for an attack on Danzig and Poland.

These plans call for an intensive surprise attack by the Reich Army one hundred kilometers south of the Free City, the full width of the Corridor and some sixty kilometers broad, in an attempt to join East and West Prussia, thus cutting off Poland from the sea. This gigantic operation, in which Germany counts on putting nearly two million men into action, including both the navy and the air force, has been planned down to the smallest detail. According to the Führer, it will force Warsaw to capitulate almost immediately.

For some time the reports that Hitler has received from his ambassadors in Paris and London have strengthened his conviction that the Cabinets of London and Paris are less decided to go to war than they were last September, even though they have formed an alliance with Poland. According to these ambassadors, Paris and London would bow before a *fait accompli*, so a surprise attack would be worth the risk.

In addition, a report signed by the highest generals in the Reich Army was delivered to Hitler on August 2. These officers declared that the German Army can now maintain a war on all fronts at the same time, for it is stronger than in 1914 through its Italian and Japanese allies, who will certainly fulfill their obligations, especially at the outset, which is the most important. Moreover, the new fortifications that the Führer has had constructed should not be overlooked as important factors. Hitler thereupon made his decision. If he does not change his mind, there are ninety-five chances in a hundred that war will break out soon.

Hitler is going straight for the objective—for him important—that he must achieve in order to be able to risk the coup with the maximum chance of success. It consists in keeping the democracies from mobilizing until he has begun his offensive in Poland. Thus the few weeks that will be required for the democracies to put their men in the field will be all that is necessary for him to crush Poland.

About July 14 the Führer outlined to his collaborators the diplomatic strategy he intended to employ to achieve his ends. In all truth it must be said that Goering, Himmler, Hess and von Ribbentrop—all his aides except Goebbels, a confirmed pessimist since President Roosevelt sent his message to Hitler—unreservedly approved the Führer when he told them that after two diplomatic moves he intended to make, the democracies would take no action. On July 26 Count Welczek and Herr von Dircksen told the French and British governments that Berlin considered the question of Danzig and the Corridor to be an "internal political problem of the Reich," and that therefore the democracies would run the risk of launching a general war if they were to interfere.

The Führer also explained to his followers the second diplomatic action that he had in mind. Upon this it is possible that war or peace hinges: The German and Italian ambassadors in London and Paris are to see Daladier and Chamberlain and tell them that "the government of the Reich—from this day on—will consider any new military measures taken by France and England as an act hostile to the Reich." The two diplomats are to add that the Italian government, in conformity with the "Pact of Steel," will support Berlin if it is obliged to adopt measures of defense against such hostile acts.

During the afternoon of August 2, Hitler undertook a series of military measures corresponding to this future diplomatic move. All the commanders of the Reich Army are, until further notice, part of the "personal staff of the Führer."

The other orders were of a purely military nature: The establishment on a war basis of all the garrisons that are not already so established; the same for all the organizations of the SS and the SA, armed and unarmed; suspension of all leaves, even "trips to town"; similar measures for all the motorized corps of the army. The propaganda agents in foreign countries were ordered to consider war as imminent and to act in consequence; all submarines and torpedo boats must be concentrated in their home ports or in the Baltic; the High Staff must furnish him by August 10 with a plan for a surprise aero-naval attack on Gdynia (Hitler has changed his mind concerning the Polish port, which previously he planned to spare). Finally, after having read a long telegram from the German ambassador in Tokio informing him that Japan has decided to attack Russia in about six weeks' time and that in the interval it was planning to transport troops and munitions to the Manchukuo-Russian frontier, the Führer gave Marshal Goering the following instructions:

Put at the disposition of the Japanese High Command several hundred pilots, mechanics and radio-operators under

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the orders of German officers. [Goering is to specify that the German aviators must have been those trained in attacking bombing planes.] Finish immediately the negotiations with Rome over the number of Italian pilots and planes which must be placed at the disposal of the Japanese government.

Finally, after receiving, on that night of August 2, a second note from his ambassador in Tokio, advising him that the Japanese High Command had won the upper hand over the government and that the latter had authorized the military mission which is to arrive in Berlin on August 10 to sign the military pact with the Axis, the Führer gave orders to begin the preparations of the secret protocol of this German-Italian-Japanese pact.

In face of the firm attitude of Paris and London, will Hitler risk playing the ultimate poker hand in which his cards are none too strong? The French High Command is of the opinion that come what may, the master of the Third Reich is going to take the chance.

Two things have aided Hitler to reach his decision: first, his agents in the Near East told him that a four-power military pact among Egypt, Turkey, Greece and Rumania—under the auspices of Paris, London and Moscow—would soon be practically concluded. Now the Führer believes that the only success that Italy could achieve would be in Egypt, where there are no military fortifications to hold back a sudden invasion by the Duce's armies. The French and English troops in the region would be obliged to concentrate on the Libyan army, and this would, perhaps, save Italy from the naval disaster which she risks in case of war, and which Hitler himself is worried about.

In addition, on that night of August 2, von Dircksen, who had just arrived in Berlin, warned Hitler that he had every reason to believe that a secret accord, or even an official one, would soon ally France, England and the United States for the defense of China and the reorganization of the Far East.

Hitler judged that in the circumstances, time was working against him and if victory were to smile on him, he must strike at once. Dr. Goebbels therefore was told that beginning August 4 his press should be ordered to play up the thesis that if the Reich is obliged to declare war on Poland it will be in self-defense.

"Les jeux sont faits, rien ne va plus." This is the ritual phrase by which in France, the croupiers at the gaming tables announce to the players that they cannot change their stakes and must trust to their luck, good or bad. That might very well be, today, the slogan of Old Europe.

Paris (by airmail) GENEVIEVE TABOUIS

Massachusetts Justice Revalued

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case Twelve Years Later

TWELVE YEARS AGO THIS WEEK the State of Massachusetts put to death the poor shoemaker and the fish peddler who became, during their many years in jail, the most famous political prisoners in the world. What has happened during those twelve years? What has become of the leading figures in this famous case? Has anything been done to prevent, in so far as this is possible by legal means, a repetition of this miscarriage of justice?

First, an important piece of news. The Judicial Council of Massachusetts, an admirable body of lawyers appointed to study constantly the functioning of the state's system of jurisprudence and to report their recommendations annually to the Governor and Legislature, lost little time after the execution in striking at the gravest single defect in the state's judicial system: the fact that the Supreme Judicial Court in capital cases on appeal had power to review law points only and not the evidence. Thus it happened that the facts of official record in the Sacco-Vanzetti case could not be brought before the highest court in order that it could be determined whether the jury's verdict was justified by the facts. The Massachusetts Supreme Court had had the power to review both law points and evidence in capital cases down to 1890; its justices could even preside at the trials themselves. Thereafter, the trial judges of the Superior Court were vested with exclusive power to decide whether new trials should be granted on the basis of new evidence presented, or on the basis of errors involving evidence alone.

The Massachusetts Judicial Council attacked this exclusive power vested in a single trial judge in a report ten years ago, and it kept hammering on the point consistently in every succeeding report. It showed that Federal Courts of Appeal could review both the evidence and law points in capital cases and that the New York criminal code, in clear-cut terms, made the proviso.

For a decade the Judicial Council's repeated recommendation seemed to make no impression on the Legislature. Yet the Council, whose membership had changed considerably with the passing years, still showed no discouragement in its fourteenth annual report, filed last winter. With Judge Thayer's record in mind, unquestionably, the Council again said of the Massachusetts system:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In substance this means that there is no review of the discretion of the single judge. Thus a matter of life or death, once treated with the utmost care, even beyond the requirements of the law, has now been committed to a single judge of the Superior Court, with no review whatever on its most vital aspects. Such a situation places an unfair responsibility upon the trial judge and upon the Governor, is a potential threat to justice and is not reassuring to the public who have a right to demand that judicial consideration should be exhausted before a man is condemned to death.

This recommendation, embodied in a bill that had become a hardy perennial, kicked from one session to another for ten years by legislators who had feared to touch it, was finally passed late this June and signed by Governor Saltonstall. The enactment was brought about quietly, with little show of opposition. Most of those in a position to demand the passage of the bill preferred to keep silent, fearing a revival of the Sacco-Vanzetti hysteria.

Even now, it is difficult for persons outside Massachusetts to understand the bitter feeling which the case aroused. Long after the execution, Professor Felix Frankfurter was nominated to the Massachusetts Supreme Court by Governor Ely. A fight was immediately started by the executive council against his being confirmed, and solely because of the memorable part Professor Frankfurter had played on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti. The discussion ended when the nominee, preferring to teach law at Harvard, requested that the Governor withdraw his name.

Other leading figures of the Sacco-Vanzetti case are now much less in the public eye. Judge Thayer is dead. So is William G. Thompson, the brilliant Boston lawyer who was brought to the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti belatedly, after their first and only court trial in 1921, when their defense before the jury was badly mishandled. Mr. Thompson to his last day was utterly convinced of the innocence of the clients whom he so gallantly tried to save.

Governor Fuller, whose supreme error was his final decision not to urge the executive council to commute the death sentence to life imprisonment—a solution permissible and legitimate even after the Lowell commission's disappointing and vulnerable report—has passed into a deepening obscurity so far as public life is concerned, but he remains active in business.

Controversy seems futile as to the Governor's motives. Was he ambitious to become President of the United States on a later version of the "law and order" cry that had started Governor Coolidge toward the White House? The dramatic circumstance that President Coolidge's famous I-do-not-choose-to-run announcement came at exactly the right moment in Governor Fuller's greatest crisis instantly gave life to suspicions that have not been dispelled. The secret is locked in Governor Fuller's heart.

Former President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard, chairman of the Governor's advisory commission, survives; and so does Robert Grant, novelist and former judge of probate in Suffolk County, who served on the advisory commission. The third member of the commission, President Stratton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has been dead for some years.

With the death some years ago of Mrs. Glendower Evans, a noble-hearted patrician liberal, Massachusetts lost a conspicuous champion of the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti, who was untiring in her labors and financial support for their cause.

If you ask what is the present opinion of Massachusetts people as to the guilt or innocence of the defendants in this celebrated case, no definite answer can be given. It is at least within the writer's own observation that the swing of opinion, whatever it may amount to, has gone toward belief in their innocence of the holdup and murder.

Nothing has turned up to prove conclusively that they were innocent. There has been no new confession of guilt from any source since that of Madeiros, which Judge Thayer refused to regard seriously. Yet Herbert B. Ehrmann's book, "The Untried Case," presents impressively the evidence pointing directly to the notorious Morelli gang of Providence, Rhode Island, as the payroll bandits and murderers in the South Braintree holdup, and the book is a record that can never be ignored.

After all has been said, the case of Sacco and Vanzetti cannot be dismissed without reflecting that it was in large part the product of the explosive emotions generated by war. It was the period of Mitchell Palmer's "Red raids" against aliens, which struck Massachusetts full in the face. On emerging from the War, many Americans became disquieted by the threat of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The reaction to President Wilson's internationalism quickly gained strength and was skillfully canalized along the most conservative lines. The evidence is convincing that all those strong nativist and anti-Red emotions boiled up in Judge Webster Thayer, even as he sat in judgment on the bench. And he was a typical Yankee of the old stock.

It could happen again—either in Massachusetts or anywhere in the United States—in spite of the rules of the courts regarding appeals in capital cases, if the psychology that prevailed in Boston after the War is allowed to reëmerge.

We have seen symptoms of the reappearance of such a state of mind during the session of Congress just ended. Some of the hysterical anti-alien bills passed the House so easily that even conservative newspapers were startled. If the demons swarm again Massachusetts will not confine their activities—nor be alone in harboring them.

WALDO COOK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not in the Cables

Albania Under Fascism

THE GRAB OF ALBANIA was only the baby-snatch among the kidnapings of fascism. But in terms of British war strategy in the middle Mediterranean, where Yugoslavia is wavering toward Germany and Hitler expects to have a window on the Adriatic before long, Albania's removal as a possible military and naval base is far graver than the British public realizes.

The danger for the British lies not so much in the sacrifice of any hope to challenge Italy directly in the Adriatic, but in the fact that Italy, in having taken Albania, has also taken Corfu. The island overlaps the coasts of Albania and Greece, and when Mussolini bombarded it in 1923, he gave his first hint of where Italy would move. The British fleet this summer is omitting its usual call there.

Up to now, if war were declared, it was anybody's naval race to the Durazzo-Corfu fortress at the Adriatic's mouth. Furthermore, there was always the danger for the Italians that if they jumped across the Adriatic, the British at Malta might strike Italy at the bootheel which the Italians had just left, or even get at Palermo and Naples. The Italians have now outmaneuvered the British. They no longer have to think of an emergency shuttle service across the Adriatic; they have their feet firmly grounded in Albania and can plant any fortifications under their own colors.

At last the Romans have the Balkan mountains behind them. They can rake with fire any British fleet that threads the North African straits dominated by Pantelleria and tries the suicidal run north past the Ionian Islands. The British this summer will make the base of their naval maneuvers Pylos, but Italian destroyers long ago sounded every western Greek harbor.

It is typical of our foggy news coverage in the Balkans that with all the material patched together when the Italian troops landed in Durazzo, there was not a word printed to suggest that the British, as well as the Italians, enjoyed a substantial foothold in Albania. It must be years since any newspaper or news magazine in America has printed the fact, if it has ever been printed at all, that the Albanian federal constabulary was trained by five English army officers. The British were by far the most trusted aides of the Crown. It was these instructor-officers who saved Zog's life in the abortive revolt of 1934. But last Good Friday when Mussolini struck, they were not there to protect the throne nor to cover the Sovereign's flight. They had been recalled to England shortly before the Munich crisis and never ordered back.

It was Zog's custom to fend off one imperialism with another; he bestrode his lilliputian country like a midget on stilts too tall for him, with one long shaky leg planted in the Italian legation, the other in the British legation. Each imperial power gave him bargaining strength over the other, but when England withdrew her officers Zog was left standing on only his Italian leg. He managed to remain upright more than half a year, but a little king cannot stand on one stilt forever while it is being shaken from below by an Italian as stalwart as Signor Jacomini, the former Minister and present Lieutenant Governor.

The non-return of the British officers accomplished by default something that Mussolini had long demanded. Years ago the Anglo-Persian Oil Company gave up trying to get remunerative oil from its fields in southern Albania. The Italians drilled, found oil and demanded that the British officer commanding the constabulary in that part of Albania be withdrawn. Zog refused. Why, after Munich, did the British stand him up? If one remembers that Albania was created as an independent nation instead of being divided between Greece and Serbia solely because Sir Edward Grey backed Austria's demand for a mid-Adriatic buffer state, the British retreat looks like that of an old gentleman who is beginning to forget things as well as drop them.

That Zog is a "made" king, not a true hereditary sovereign, played an important role in British failure to back him. Zog had worked up to kingship from being President when Albania was a mere republic. The self-made monarch had few liaisons with the British throne, and rarely tasted Windsor's tea that is always kept boiling for the authentic dynasties of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania. To Whitehall he was a politician who got himself a crown by the cheap means of democratic election. Actually, of course, none of the allies of the democratic axis even resembles a democracy. America isn't supposed to look now, but a nice sound monolithic state, preferably with a genteel royal family and a censored press, is what England and France want to hold down the corners of the map.

After the first pitiful resistance at Durazzo only a handful of Albanians stayed loyal to Zog and had to be interned. The Italians were intelligent enough to leave an easy semi-honorable way out for every Albanian. The scramble for civil posts may have been undignified, but at least it saved the country from a bureaucratic as well as a military occupation. Italy has enough complaisant ex-Zogists to make up a puppet ministry, with anti-Zogists two deep at every position.

The prevailing mood is one of disillusionment. Unaided from outside, the Albanians see no reason to undertake a hopeless struggle against an invincibly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mechanized power. Dr. Mborija, a leader in the former democratic Parliament, hastened to Fascist headquarters in Rome, and turned a graceful cartwheel homeward to head the Fascist Party in Albania. Dr. Tochi, formerly Minister of National Economy, kept himself among the familiar faces still present by a similar act of allegiance.

Two former prime ministers, however, refused to coöperate with the Italians. Pandeli Evangeli was offered a fat salary to take over the post of President of Parliament when the country was invaded. He refused and is still at liberty. The other ex-premier, Medhi Bey Frasheri, was more outspoken in his criticism. The Italian constabulary escorted him to the airport, where his destination was said to be the springs of Fuggi to "take the cure." At this writing his health is still the object of Fascist solicitude.

The customs union with Italy went into effect on June 1, and the struggling Albanian industries, which had always needed governmental subsidy and protective tariffs to keep them afloat, are hard put to stay alive. Italian soap, perfume, olive oil, textiles, macaroni, candy and shoes, of higher quality than Albanian products although more costly, are pushing local products out of the market. Foreign competition is eliminated as the Italian tariff wall closes around the country.

The Albanian farmers, who in some cases have cash incomes as low as $30 a year but are able to exist because they live largely on what they produce, have profited by the new status because Italian wheat prices are considerably higher than Albanian. The cattle farmers, however, are collectivized as they would be under a Soviet system, because the Italian Farm at Shiak has a monopoly on the exported beef animals. The Italians can demand the established price in Italy, while paying the Albanian farmers whatever they please. Meat in Albania is up about eighteen cents a pound. Wages have gone up, too. Many new roads are needed to carry heavy artillery on the push eastward and labor is paid sixty cents a day instead of thirty cents as before. At the same time, prices are fixed. The lack of available currency is made up by running the money presses full tilt. For Albania the christening gift of fascism has been inflation.

This summer all school buildings are in Italian army hands. Teachers and students over eighteen years old have been taught the technique of joining the Fascist Party, but membership is not obligatory. The upraised palm of fascism is the official greeting. The black double-headed eagle is on the flag, surmounted by the Fascist emblem. Minister of Education Koleqi issued an assurance that the Albanian language and literature had been guaranteed by Mussolini. "The ethnic individuality of the noble Albanian race must be kept untouched," he wrote, apparently as a disclaimer that Italian immigrants would move in. His acquiescence in these blameless purposes was rewarded with a well paid absentee professorship in the University of Rome.

The Adriatic has now a mouth that breathes fire and bites two ways, but the strongest threat of fascism in Albania is the finger of its purposes eastward. The old Via Egnatia still beckons the Roman legions toward Byzantium, over the mountains through Monastiraki and Salonica and across the plains of Thrace. Britain has foreseen this much, for an enormous loan to Turkey has purchased her the use of Smyrna's fortifications. But Virginio Gayda has told the world that Italy, if it became her problem to take the Dardanelles, would not repeat the Allied blunder of a roundabout attack from the sea but would go straight across by land. If Yugoslavia is complacent about this move, as she may be, and Bulgaria welcomes it, as she certainly would, the British and French will be outmaneuvered. Already outflanked even in the Aegean by the new Italian fortification of the Dodecanese, they will find it tricky work to defend by naval strength the same Turkish power in the Straits which they strove vainly at Gallipoli to destroy.

GEORGE WELLER

Spain Under Franco

WORD COMES FROM SPAIN of the death of Padre Luis Rodés, Jesuit priest and eminent scientist, director of the Ebro Observatory, well known in the United States. During the Spanish war, while the American Catholic press was proclaiming the lie that all priests in Loyalist Spain were being slaughtered by the Loyalist government, Padre Rodés remained at his work under the protection of that same government. He did not, like most priests, boycott the government in an effort to prove that it was "anti-God." It appears that for this crime of not boycotting the government he was deprived of his post as soon as Franco arrived on the scene.

News of the wholesale assassinations of Republicans continues to come through despite the Franco censorship. The courageous Javier Bueno, Socialist editor of El Avance of Oviedo, was among twenty-five Loyalist journalists recently put to death. Jorge Rubio, director of the Catalan government library, was likewise killed because he tried to save the rare books in his care from confiscation.

The list of the distinguished dead is long: Carrasco de la Rubia, formerly an editor of Barcelona's leading paper, La Vanguardia; Jose Lleonart, Catalan poet and novelist; Carlos Rahola, known as "the historian of the province of Gerona," and president of the Gerona Ateneo; Farran Duran Canyameres, lawyer, historian, archivist of the Barcelona Palace of Justice and one of the leaders of the Party of Catholic Liberals. Others reported under death sentence include

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Miguel Hernandez, the "shepherd poet," whose works are second only to those of the assassinated Garcia Lorca, and Angel Gaos, philosopher and lecturer.

The Manchester Guardian for July 27 reports the following number of persons executed by shooting during one week: May 1, 83; May 2, 81; May 3, 35; May 4, 24; May 5, 47; May 6, 31. It adds that the terror has not abated since.

Meanwhile, Franco and his terrorists have been publicly commended by His Holiness the Pope for the mercy and justice they have brought to Spain.

Undercover negotiations of mysterious import are going on between the French and the Franco governments. The French ambassador to Spain, Marshal Petain, recently toured concentration camps in France, in the name of Franco's humanitarian concern for the welfare of the Spanish refugees. France has since agreed to send back 50,000 refugee militiamen to Spain. No one knows how Franco will receive them.

Paris LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

Nazi Spies in France

THE DEUXIÈME BUREAU, which is the French secret service corresponding somewhat to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has partly lifted the lid on a pile of political filth which may soon put a number of important ministers, including the incredible Bonnet, out of office.

Two definite arrests so far have been reported. M. Aubin, news editor of Le Temps, received 1,000,000 francs from Germany for vital military information. Julien Poirier, advertising manager of Le Figaro, the reactionary morning daily, accepted 3,500,000 francs from Germany for the same service. A police dragnet has been thrown out for 150 others, similarly placed in society, business, politics, education and journalism. On June 30, the chief German agent in Paris, Otto Abetz, was requested to leave France. Several days ago, an Austrian woman named Elizabeth Butner, who actively directed the so-called infiltration, fled to Germany. The police are searching for Robert Brassilach and Pierre Gaxotte, editors of the reactionary weekly, Je Suis Partout, and Count Fernand de Brinon, editor of the financial paper, l'Information. New people are incriminated every day, but only the names will change. The dirt will remain drearily the same.

The German espionage system in Paris operated through two branches, one directed by Otto Abetz, the other by a Frenchman now sought by the police. Abetz worked directly under the Foreign Minister, von Ribbentrop, in an independent spy system known as the *Verbindungsstab*.

Abetz moved only in the highest circles. His special function was to report to von Ribbentrop on the state of mind among the rich and the influential, and to buy the services of as many as possible. His contacts were always personal. His impeccable French permitted him to move freely in French society. He married a Frenchwoman and that helped. He made a special point of "helping" certain French writers sell their books to German publishers and obliged them by paying royalties in advance. His connections in the university world were extraordinary. One of his closest associates was M. Edouard Pfeiffer, former general-secretary of the Radical Socialist Party and a personal friend of the Premier. And above all, Abetz was the brains behind the Comité France-Allemagne, which is the liaison between the French Fifth Column and the Nazi network.

The first intimation that Abetz was expelled came in Le Temps, of all places, on July 1. His name was not mentioned but everybody familiar with the Paris Fifth Column knew that he was the man. Several days later, Henri de Kerillis, the only non-Communist who voted against the Munich agreement in the Chamber, revealed in his paper, l'Epoque, that the "German agent" was Abetz. But for two weeks, not a single right-wing paper told its readers that the most important German spy in Paris had been expelled.

Abetz's female partner, Elizabeth Butner, is equally interesting. Formerly secretary to Julius Streicher, publisher of Der Stürmer, she came to Paris, married a French count (recall that Abetz also married into a French family), and soon began to move in the best circles. Her feats seem extraordinary. She, not Abetz, was the active head of the Nazi network in Paris. Lucien Sampaix, of the Communist daily, l'Humanité has asked some interesting questions. Did the wife of a minister in the Daladier cabinet tell the countess that any requests which she might have would be transmitted to her influential husband? Was Count de Brinon at the last Nuremberg Congress (the fact is a matter of record) in company with the countess? Was the countess, who owns an airplane, protected by a high officer in the air ministry who helped her to avoid customs inquiries?

As for Messieurs Aubin and Poirier, they are small fry but their connections are not. Le Temps has been jointly owned since 1933 by the Comité des Forges, the steel trust, and the Comité des Houillères, the coal trust. It is the mouthpiece of industry and finance.

Several months ago, de Kerillis (who is very frequently used as a spokesman for the French General Staff) asserted that Germany had spent 350,000,000 francs in bribes to the French press between May and November, 1938. It now appears that he was right. For Germany gave 4,500,000 francs to two minor traitors, and Abetz is said to have disposed of 350,000 francs a month by himself. It is evident that the sums spent by Germany on the organization of Fifth Columns are fantastic.

London THEODORE DRAPER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

Washington Notes

Garner with the Wind

WITH THE RETURN of the congressional reactionaries to their districts, the drive to beat Mr. Roosevelt enters its final phase. From now on, there will be unceasing dogfights over the control of delegations to next year's convention. We have heard a vast amount of talk about the injuries to Mr. Roosevelt's prestige from the passage of the Hatch bill, and the defeat of the neutrality and spending measures. Admittedly, Mr. Roosevelt's reputation as a political magician hasn't been helped. But, should he decide to make a try for a third term, what chance would the Garner boys have, in concrete terms, of stopping him?

The Texas delegates will be pledged to Mr. Garner. This will not be because Texas voters approve of starving Mexican pecan-shellers. Many Texans are as outraged by Mr. Garner's labor record as Mayor Maury Maverick of San Antonio is. But Mr. Garner, his eyebrows and his poker-playing, whiskey-drinking evil ways have aroused local patriotism. It is even reported that the Daughters of the Confederacy in Texas are raising a fund to restore and landscape him, as they did the Alamo.

Mr. Tydings will have Maryland's delegates. The Free Staters do not look on him as a historical monument, but the machine of Governor Herbert Romulus O'Conor is understood to be anxious to avoid a primary fight. Virginia will be pledged to Mr. Harry E. "An Angry Man" Byrd. Indiana is not merely pledged, but riveted and electro-welded to FSA Administrator McNutt. There has been New Deal talk that when and if Mr. Roosevelt announces his candidacy, Mr. McNutt will blushingly surrender the Indiana delegation. It is nothing to bet money on, however.

Aside from these four states, there is no substantial reason why Mr. Roosevelt should not have every vote in the 1940 convention. As these Notes are written, Mr. Keen Johnson, backed by Mr. A. B. "Happy" Chandler, has apparently won the Democratic nomination for Governor in Kentucky's primary. Last year, when Mr. Chandler opposed Senator "Dear Alben" Barkley, Mr. Roosevelt went to Kentucky to make a remarkably adroit speech on the theme: "Mr. Chandler is still a young man, he can wait for his chance. . . ." This earthy remark stopped Mr. Chandler cold in his tracks. He will now name Kentucky's 1940 delegates, and you might expect that they would be anti-Roosevelt. However, in the just-ended campaign, Messrs. Chandler and Johnson fervently praised Mr. Roosevelt, and the latter, on his side, flatly refused to endorse Mr. Johnson's opponent, Mr. John Young Brown, attorney for the CIO. Adepts in Kentucky's politics say that the 1940 delegation will be pro-Roosevelt.

Six months ago it was axiomatic that Missouri was the family fief of Mr. Bennett Clark. But by jailing Boss Pendergast, Governor Stark has abruptly pushed him into limbo. Mr. Clark will have part of the delegates from St. Louis; the rest of the state will be for Mr. Stark. The Rocky Mountain area will see two bitter fights. Under the leadership of former Representative Jerry O'Connell, Montana New Dealers will try to return Mr. Burt Wheeler permanently to private life. In Wyoming, Senator Pittman, for the administration, and Senator McCarren, for the Garnerites, are pulling and yanking at the state's 1940 delegation. There are a number of states where favorite-son delegations will be employed to conceal pro-Roosevelt strength. It is expected that the Iowa delegation will be pledged to Secretary Wallace. Actually it will be for the President, as will the Tennessee delegation, pledged to Mr. Cordell Hull.

Mr. Roosevelt's least favorable prospects are in the dime-an-hour Solid South. But, as these Notes are written, Mr. Mike Sennett Conner, riding the mill-owners' horse in the Mississippi primary, seems to have been nosed out by Senator Bilbo's entry, Judge Paul B. Johnson. If Mr. Bilbo has power to pick the state's delegation, it will be several hundred percent pro-Roosevelt. A campaign is now beginning to loosen Senator George's control of the Georgia machine. It is hoped that Miss Tallulah's relatives, Father William and Uncle John Bankhead, will deliver Alabama to Mr. Roosevelt; if not, Senator Hill is likely to succeed.

Texas, Virginia and one or two other cotton-mill Southern states cannot make a stop-Roosevelt movement. In the Northern states with heavy convention votes, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, there is as yet no organized third-term opposition. Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City, white-plumed and clad in shining New Deal armor, offers to lead the fight for Mr. Roosevelt's renomination. The Garnerites will not be able to use the traditional Democratic two-thirds rule to deadlock the 1940 convention. When some of Mr. Garner's present allies fought to abolish it in 1936, they thought they still owned the Democratic Party, and wanted to prevent New Dealers from troubling them at the next convention. They know now that they guessed badly.

In the just-ended session of Congress, the liberal who probably added most to his stature was Representative Ray McKeough of Chicago. He led the fight for a Democratic caucus just as the session closed. Practically, the caucus meeting was futile; nevertheless, it marks the nearest that the House liberals have come to shaping party policy since Mr. Roosevelt took office. Mr. McKeough forced the House Democrats—Mr. Gene Cox and all—into a formal endorsement of Mr. Roosevelt's program. As the split widens within the party, this vote may have psychological importance, since it brands anti-Roosevelt Democrats as party traitors and outlaws.

Slight, with tightly curled gray hair and a sharp, merry eye, Mr. McKeough has come nearer than anyone else to occupying the place of Maury Maverick. The House liberal bloc, it must be explained, has greatly changed in the last session. In Mr. Maverick's time, its core consisted of the Minnesota Farmer Laborites and Wisconsin Progressives, and had a palpable third-party flavor. Now it is strictly Democratic, and Mr. McKeough is a party man.

He was born near the Chicago stockyards, and went to work in them as a boy. For seventeen years he had clerical jobs with the Elgin, Joliet and Eastern Railroad, and then burgeoned as a La Salle Street stockbroker. His is a minor Horatio Alger story, and might seem an odd preface to a career of political liberalism, but for the fact that Mr. Mc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Keough, as one of his admirers puts it, is "a left-handed Harp." He was, as the same man says, a New Dealer before Mr. Roosevelt, startling his La Salle Street colleagues with frequent and raucous dissents from Coolidge-Hoover complacency. A gregarious person, he formed a firm friendship with Edward J. Kelly, the present mayor of Chicago, and was asked to run in 1934 in a stockyards district. He is one of the stockyards workers' own, and they love him. Washington union representatives call him the "most active friend of labor in the House."

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Saving the System

THE SUSPICION HAS GOT AROUND that America—dynamic America—has drifted into a static economic sea. This is to say that its economy has now developed to the point where further investment must necessarily be less than is required to keep it moving ahead. Put another way, the country is supposed to be more or less finished and the mere job of keeping it at its present level by replacement is not sufficient to absorb the capital investment essential to the dynamic operation of the capitalist system.

If you are a radical who looks forward eagerly to the doom of the system, it will be pleasant to think that this is true. If you are one of those fragile and bewildered things known as a liberal, you will perceive this much-advertised fact with increasing bewilderment. If you are a good old-fashioned member of the GOP and the Chamber of Commerce, you will indignantly deny this base slander on "our great system of free enterprise." Whatever you are, however, it may be a good idea to take a look at the situation.

First of all, it must be conceded that the continuous operation of the capitalist money system at something near its best efficiency requires a continuous flow of new long-term investment. Just what the volume of this flow must be is a highly controversial question. More conservative economists think it must be sufficient to absorb savings back into the stream of expenditure. I think this is not sufficient. I am convinced that investment must exceed savings, which means that one of the conditions of dynamic activity in the capitalist system is that there must be a considerable volume of inflation. The inflation ought not to be so much that it cannot be extinguished by the ordinary processes of default liquidation. However, whatever the volume of inflation and, indeed, whether it is absolutely essential or not, we can at least agree that the flow of long-term investment is essential.

Now long-term investment may be made in new industries or in existing industries; that is, newcomers or new money may enter existing manufacturing or transportation or distribution fields or they may go into entirely novel enterprises to exploit new inventions or devices. The idea has spread that the mere flow of money into existing industries—replacing of obsolete buildings, creating new competitive units in established fields of production—is not sufficient to absorb the amount of investment necessary to a dynamic economy. Hence it is assumed that there must be a continuous appearance of new industries, new inventions and innovations in the industrial structure to provide an outlet for the essential volume of investment.

Yet it is not by any means proved that a steady flow of new inventions is needed or that there are not available continuous openings in existing industries to provide for the capitalist system the investment opportunities essential to its operation (assuming that it can be operated successfully for all the people under any circumstances). I say it has not been proved. No one, so far as I know, has offered any proof on this subject, though the assumption has been widely accepted.

But what is quite obvious is that investment in existing enterprises is not sufficient and cannot maintain the system at its maximum level of operation under the present arrangements. Business men, business organizations—and not the government—have so bound the various fields of investment, have so hampered them, have, in fact, built such walls around them that new investment is impossible.

The crux of the whole problem of recovery within the framework of the present system, therefore, is this: can the outlets for investment in existing industries, through replacements and newcomers into the industry, be freed for new investment? If they cannot the system is doomed. But it seems to be abundantly clear that we cannot possibly look for a continuing appearance of new investments.

The task ahead of those who wish to preserve the present system, therefore, is to examine objectively all of the existing avenues of long-term investment to discover the obstacles to investment which are there in abundance and to find the means of removing those obstacles.

This is not a job for the specialist or communist or for that matter for the mere politician. This is a job for the economist who believes, for one reason or another, that the present system should be preserved.

For myself, I cannot escape a certain lack of confidence in the possibility of preserving the system. There seems to be a whole group of steps which are necessary to continue it. I say this without taking any brief for continuing it. Looking at it quite realistically, a very obvious collection of measures are essential to save it, if it can be saved. But the possibility of these measures being adopted seems quite remote. First of all, no political party now with any following seems to be in the slightest degree interested in such measures. Second, these obstacles are in fact economic abuses—not moral, but economic abuses—upon which great numbers of powerful interests are camped: money interests, labor interests. They are camped there because they are making their living out of the abuses, however poor a living it may be at present. They stand their ground, use all their political power to prevent anyone from disturbing in the slightest degree their own specially profitable abuse. And in a government whose chief defect is its exposure to the power of shifting and combining minorities there is grave fear that these minorities are too powerful to be disturbed by political leaders whose interest in the society never runs further than the next November election.

JOHN T. FLYNN

Because Heywood Broun is still on vacation, his column is omitted this week.—THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pick of the Pictures

THE PICK OF THE PICTURES just now is "Stanley and Livingstone," which avoids some of the traps set for the usual splash of epic and uplift—possibly because producer Darryl F. Zanuck looked some other way while his assistant Kenneth Macgowan did the work; but more probably because the main acting assignment is left to Spencer Tracy. The acting is a genuine help all through, with fine support from Walter Brennan, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, Charles Coburn, Henry Travers, the natives, even Nancy Kelly. Henry Hull, I regret to say, assumed that the publisher of The New York Herald should be Robert Mantell as Coriolanus, but he was not given much footage to chew. And the African background stuff is solid and sometimes thrilling (managed by Otto Brower in spite of Mrs. Martin Johnson, who was encouraged to flounce around on the safari unit for the value of her name). But isolated merits will add up to little —as the recent cycle of epics can remind us—unless the story makes a sense of its own. I think this one does.

Stanley goes out to get his story as newsmen sometimes do even when working for papers, a hard-case cynic but still (and here is the value of the actor) a decent fellow and sweet spirit underneath. Skip various complications: he finds Livingstone when he is almost a case for a search party himself, and finds to his amazement that the man is there because he *wants* to be, that it is his dedicated work. Gradually admiration mounts over disbelief, and he becomes almost a disciple—at least on the explorer side of Livingstone's missionary activities. Back in England, he tells off the piddling geographers, and returns to work in Africa.

It is the story of a good and not too important man, who found something to work for; as such it is well done. Spencer Tracy is there, to make anything believable; but he is given support in some very crackling lines, in direct and logical continuity. And Henry King's direction knew how to take advantage of certain writer's touches (screen play by Philip Dunne and Julien Josephson), to make little human things meaningful and even lovely, as the bit where Tracy hesitantly leaves the tin mirror as a parting gift to the black man he had kicked around for stealing it when he first arrived; or the morning choir rehearsal, where the black converts are swinging the hell out of a hymn and Livingstone is roaring and jabbing at them and —he, Sir Cedric Hardwicke—almost skipping. It is one of the few safari pictures that has realized the fact that the truth of common life can be as dramatic as the magnificent sequences of the attacking tribe rolling down over the hill. But whatever the talent of the production, Tracy should be a picture maker's holiday, for character and its development, action and its consequences, can be built upon him as on a concrete gun emplacement.

Not to overpraise the film, it is certainly slow in some portions, rather painful in the final "trial" scene; it could have done its business in less space, and is not blessed in the footage given to the decent sentiments of Richard Greene. But while it does not pretend to chart the course for a New Africa, it is a good statement for human understanding and responsibility, and a good picture; and I got more all-of-a-piece enjoyment from it than from anything else I've seen in quite a while, quite a while.

I hesitate to put down anything in criticism of the new French picture, "Harvest," because just now it is under the droopy cloud of the New York State Board of Censors. In the interest of public morality the Board has refused to license this picture for showing in the state of New York, the home of The Journal American, Bernarr Macfadden and the Minsky brothers. Members of such censor boards have to pass a rigid examination in whether they are able to read or write and possibly both, I believe, though I know this only from hearsay; but on such subtle distinctions as whether a film is good, fair or foul, they usually prefer to throw in their hand and wait for Moses to come down off the mountain with the home edition of The Morning Tablet. Therefore they are sure to pounce on any weak voice protesting that the cutting was probably done by the original man with the hoe, and say, You see? Ain't even artistic!

But "Harvest" is good enough and harmless enough so that it looks as though the censors have bitten off more this time than the people are going to stomach. The funny thing is that, being nowhere so good or prize-laden as "La Kermesse Heroique," which got the okay for the whole range of its broadly hinted bawdry, it didn't scare these Albany wetty-beds so much; by its lack of front they were emboldened to come down with a terrific thud on something which is actually reverential, almost to the point of immaculate conception. Its handicap with the censor board is that in the story the marriage is a common-law affair and that when the wife gets pregnant she says so.

Its handicap as a film lies in a pretty complete innocence of the motion of pictures. The actual screen credits do not list Maurice Pagnol as director, though the program notes do. But whoever may be responsible for this unimaginative and chunky surrender in the face of modern film requirements, the scenario itself is originally responsible for the diminished effect (M. Pagnol also gets credit for the scenario). Characters appear from nowhere and you are supposed to guess why they act as they do—and then for the most part they don't act at all. Yet Fernandel, who is only a minor stage device, is given thousands of valuable feet for overpantomimic comedy. Emphasis and means of transition are so out of whack (and surely emphasis is almost the art of story telling itself) that at times the characters might just as well all be Chinamen.

In spite of its faults, "Harvest" is a film that somehow establishes a mood rarely found in pictures. With almost no story content at all, it manages the story of a girl fairly on the loose and no better than she should be, her chance meeting with the last, half-wild peasant in a deserted Provençal village, and their mutual regeneration. It is a fable really; but while fables are rarely true, there is something about their hope and fantasy that always falls beautifully on the ear. She is no heroine and he is an unreclaimed hulk, but their half-articulate aspirations make a prettier case for industry and domestic concord than has been seen in a long time. It should have been rounded out with more detail and more touches like the single lovely incident of the bread—but possibly part of its effect is gained by just this slow, awkward simplicity. Sometimes there is a touch more surely communicative in the fumbling pat on your shoulder than in any of the intricate holds of Masonry or jiu-jitsu.

OTIS FERGUSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bandwagon

The Factory Stands so Near the Links

Pasadena city directors today had turned down a proposed anti-picketing measure despite the personal appearance of Chief of Police Charles Kelley, who said it would "help officers to prevent the theft of golf balls from city links." – *From The Los Angeles Evening News.*

Only Baptists Need Apply

Wanted—A couple to get married in 26,000 gallons of diluted cherry juice at the cherry harvest festival, July 22, 3:30 P.M. Marriage license, ring and a wedding present. Door County Chamber of Commerce, Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin. – *From the personal column of The Chicago Sunday Tribune.*

Pants for the Ants

I have long felt very indignant that nature studies should be permitted. There is not a tiny defenseless creature that has not had its pitiful secrets laid bare. – *A letter in The London Daily Sketch reprinted in The Baltimore Sun.*

Tough Pull

I did not make any obligations I could not meet. I lived within my means and my advice to you young men is to do just the same. – *A statement from the late John D. Rockefeller, Sr., printed in The New York Times.*

The Sporting Thing to Do

The grouse season opens in this country on August 12—the partridge season on September 1. A session of Parliament at the end of August would spoil both. If there were to be a war or immediate threat of war sporting members of Parliament naturally would be glad to do their duty and return to Westminster. – *A London dispatch in The New York World-Telegram.*

Just Folks

A dictator who doesn't want the job is roly-poly Francisco Franco. An able soldier, he's no politician, ducks out of important cabinet meetings to help daughter Clemencita with her homework. – *A cartoon caption in The Dallas, Texas, Morning News.*

When a Sentence Needs a Friend

If the English-speaking race is to survive with the high ideals and humanitarian principles that we have tried to maintain, we must acquire the intelligence necessary to train our boys and girls on a par with the dictators, who begin with their citizens almost from babyhood. – *From an editorial by Bernarr Macfadden in Liberty.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Silicosis Story

SIR: Why does George Seldes suppress the news about the Gauley Bridge silicosis story and how it was widely printed in many American newspapers? If this is the "worst case of suppression of news in recent times" the situation is hardly deplorable.

He harps on details of The New York Times' treatment of the story. He suppresses the fact that many American newspapers went after the story. It was hard to get and slow in coming out.

In our case, immediately after we saw The People's Press item we sought verification and asked our New York staff men to get after it. Within a few weeks, the Scripps-Howard papers got a most comprehensive coverage. We arranged with them to use the material that their Gilbert Love dug up. The very widely used NEA syndicate handled the story with many pictures. We used them. So did scores of other newspapers.

I do not wish to suggest that The Journal was a holier-than-thou exception; I do not think it was. But I notice clippings on this story dated January 19, 1936 (which I am sending you), January 21, 23, 24, 28, February 7, 12, 25 and editorials of January 22 and 29 both calling for investigation of the appalling condition revealed at Gauley Bridge.

You will notice that in our January 19 story (and also in the stories carried by many other newspapers, if you care to check) the names of the company and the contractors were printed.

Don't you think that Mr. Seldes has suppressed the whole news, by giving only a fragment on the Gauley Bridge scandal, and that he has given a carefully calculated false impression that the news was generally suppressed by the American press when the truth is otherwise?

We do not think that the American press is perfect, but we do believe that most of it is trying hard to give all the news to a self-governing people.

LINDSAY HOBEN

The Milwaukee Journal,
Milwaukee, Wis.

SIR: The Gauley Bridge silicosis story was not widely printed in many American papers until weeks after it appeared in The People's Press, The Daily Worker, the liberal weeklies, and the labor press which received it from the Federated Press. Even then many papers suppressed it, and others, especially those in the territory where Union Carbide operates, did not name the companies involved. I accept Mr. Hoben's statement that he published the news after The People's Press had done so. It has been impossible for me to look through the 2,000 daily and 15,000 weekly papers to see which suppressed the news. The Milwaukee Journal claims it did not. But it admits that it was scooped. Every liberal and radical daily and weekly published it before The Journal did. I have no doubt many other papers also published the news after The People's Press had made a national sensation about it and charged the press of America with suppression. Is this to the credit of the press?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To charge me with suppression of the news is nonsense. I am not the Associated Press (which did suppress this story); I haven't thousands of employees supposed to get the news for me, and I published all I knew, and stick to it. The Gauley story is only a sample. Does The Milwaukee Journal publish its department store scandals? Does it publish the Federal Trade Commission reports on false advertising of hundreds of products which it accepts? Does it publish libel suit news? Does it publish both sides of the story, as The New York Daily News did in the 1936 campaign, and in the labor disputes of the time?

If it does it is unique in America. Otherwise it must be placed alongside the other important and powerful papers which publish some of the news and suppress what they do not like.

Mexico City GEORGE SELDES

Another Wagner Act Amendment

SIR: I've read "Amend the Wagner Act!" by Leonard Boudin (August 9) with considerable interest and, while agreeing with it in the main, I'd like to point out what I consider a serious omission.

I believe that the NLRB should be forced to consider petitions for elections even when two unions of the same federation are involved. At the present time the Board refuses to intervene between two AFL unions because it claims that a question of jurisdiction exists. But such may not be the case and may only encourage employers to evade the Act by resorting to unions which they control.

I have specific reference to the case which exists at the present time between my union and the Joe Lowe Corporation in New York. Here a plant was organized virtually 100 percent by an AFL union, Local 362, Fruit and Confectionery Workers. While negotiations for a contract were being arranged, the employer contrived to bring in a union which has just been described by Mr. Dewey as "a teamsters' union in the bakery racket," Local 138 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Now when Local 362 appealed to the Labor Board it was told that the Board would not intercede between two AFL unions. Yet what question of jurisdiction could exist in a plant which employed no truck drivers whatsoever? What right did a teamsters' union have to control the collective bargaining of factory workers? The more militant workers of the Lowe plant were forced to form their own independent union, without funds and without support from a parent organization.

This was courageous but at the same time the difficulties of such action are obvious and were necessitated only by the silly ruling of the Board. The Wagner Act should be amended to state clearly that the Board *must* intervene immediately in such cases, even when two AFL unions are involved.

WILLIAM J. WALLER,

New York City Pres., Ind. Union of Confectionery Workers

The Fourteenth Amendment

SIR: I note that many "authorities" take for granted the fact that the Fourteenth Amendment (*i.e.*, the "due process" clause) was supposed to extend the scope of the Bill of Rights. (see John Chamberlain's review of Maury Maverick's book, "In Blood and Ink," July 26). I believe that I am the only person who has examined the papers of John A. Bingham, a member of the Committee on Reconstruction, who introduced the aforementioned clause. After two years of intensive research which took me through a half-dozen states and which is not yet completed, I must still withhold any opinion regarding the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment. How anyone can pass judgment without ever having examined the manuscript material is beyond my understanding.

Chicago, Ill. HARRIS LLOYD RUBIN

Frame-Ups of Reference

SIR: In your issue of August 2, S. I. Hayakawa has a good deal to say about certain "derisive" references to semantics in the Fall, 1938, issue of Partisan Review. Our treatment of the subject seems to him "almost hilarious, if not pathetic," and he proceeds to demonstrate that semantics is a much subtler and deeper subject than the editors of Partisan Review, in their schoolboy innocence, imagine.

Actually, however, Mr. Hayakawa's objections to our editorial are largely beside the point: the conflict, indeed, is a sham battle. For the editorial was not, as he supposes, poking fun at the serious workers in the field of semantics—men like Korzybski and Richards—but at such vulgarizers as Stuart Chase, Thurman Arnold and Jerome Frank. Furthermore, it does not attack semantics as a scientific discipline; on the contrary, semantics is stated explicitly to be "in itself, a most useful study." The point made was rather that, in the hands of popularizers like Chase, semantics serves as a fire-escape from the class struggle, a means of avoiding basic economic and political realities which, as liberals, these writers cannot but run away from. To a lesser extent, the same thing could be said of Freudian theory, but surely no one would for this reason polemicize against psychoanalysis in itself.

Mr. Hayakawa's misconception may have been due to poor phrasing of our editorial. Or perhaps he himself was guilty of an unsemantical carelessness about frames of reference.

New York City THE EDITORS OF PARTISAN REVIEW

[Our readers will notice the semantic sins in the foregoing letter: "Vulgarizers," "popularizers," "basic economic and political realities," "liberals." – THE EDITORS]

Peter's Poem

SIR: For some years I have numbered among my correspondents a working class family of the Sudetenland—German-speaking socialists. They have made their escape to Scotland, where the mother of the family has found work as a domestic. Little Peter has been learning English, and he sends me his first poem in his childish handwriting. Perhaps your readers might be interested to see what a nine-year-old refugee from Hitler is thinking about:

"Come out," said the cat,
"It's peace we are at."
"No, no," said the mouse,
"I stay in my house."

Pasadena, California. UPTON SINCLAIR

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Mr. E. Murphy of New York City wants to know how Karl Menninger's article, "Death of a Prophet" (August 9), ever got printed in The New Republic. He doesn't know what Menninger means by saying that Catholicism is polytheistic, and says that he was taught that "there was only one God. . . ." Matthew Rodermund of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, inquires if Malcolm Cowley had considered Wolfe's stuttering in his article, "Thomas Wolfe's Legacy" (July 19). According to Freud, Mr. Rodermund suggests, stuttering might explain some of the bad writing of which Mr. Cowley complains. . . . Harry Blower of Salem, Oregon, requests that we print the facts about food and drugs as reported in U. S. Bulletins. . . . John Callahan of Trenton, New Jersey, thanks us for Mary Heaton Vorse's "Europe: Three Capitals" (August 16). "A little gossip does your magazine a lot of good," he writes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Emerson in His Time

THREE OR FOUR smaller collections of Emerson's letters have been published in the last fifty years. Perhaps the most interesting had already appeared before Professor Rusk undertook this vast and thorough compilation.[1] The letters to Carlyle excelled all the others as expressions of Emerson's genius, and the most revealing passages in the rest of his correspondence have long been familiar in works about him. Professor Rusk omits many of these published letters, although he has catalogued them all, and he has included many that are merely perfunctory and trivial. In the more than two thousand he has printed, a good half add little to the picture. But, taken as a whole, this great collection creates an impression of Emerson that is new and unexpected in its concreteness, setting him clearly in the contexture of his time as none of the biographies has done it. As for the technical task of editing, this has never been carried out with a scholarship more exacting or comprehensive. The format is magnificent. The critical apparatus is a model of intelligent precision, devotion and skill.

It is the social and mundane Emerson who chiefly appears in these letters, and it will surprise many readers to find how much of his life was social and mundane. There is little that throws light on the springs of a genius that in Emerson's case was unusually private and secret. "I could not give account of myself if challenged," he wrote to Henry Ware. "I delight in telling what I think, but if you ask me how I dare say so or why it is so I am the most helpless of mortal men." How his thoughts arose, out of what circumstances or what adventures, he could scarcely have said himself; and one finds in his letters few traces of any connection between his poems and essays and the events of his life. Of his prose works, "English Traits" alone was the effect of a visible cause, his travels in 1848; and even travel, as he said, produced no fruits he could use at once. "Its lessons are of no sudden application. I cannot use them all in less than seven transmigrations of Indur." He did not publish "English Traits" till eight years after his visit to England, when "the poor book," he wrote, "has long been a bore and obstruction to me." He spoke of the "rich after crops" of his talks with friends, but these were less crops of ideas than of moods and feelings. What stimulated him was evident often, but what gave birth to a thought he could seldom have told; and, while with a few of his poems, such as "Uriel" and "Threnody," the line of cause and effect was clear enough, this was less often the case than it is with most writers.

Thus the secret history of Emerson's mind hardly appears in his letters, although they abound in comments on his habits as a writer. Writing letters, he often said, started the flow of his thoughts, and many of the best passages in his essays emerged in his correspondence first. The fine description of Dr. Ripley was transcribed from a letter to his aunt. He stored away these choice morsels. He "Boswellized himself," saving his happy phrases for later occasions. Such was the phrase about Thoreau's "Week"—"pastoral as Izaak Walton, spicy as flagroot, broad and deep as Menu." Another was the phrase, describing a feeling he knew well, "Every writer is like a skater and must go partly where he would and partly where the skates carry him." He bewailed his inability to control his mind. Writing, he said, was his "meter of health." It had been so from his earliest years. "If my scribbling humor fails to come upon me," he had written at twenty, "I am as uneasy as a cow unmilked." But, although he was calmly confident that his "funds" were "inexhaustible," he could not command his moods, his thoughts or his style. He constantly complained of his "numb palsy":

> I should tell you how much I pine to write verses, and cannot. The wind, the weather, the ferns do all but coin themselves into rhymes before me, yet the last step of the alchemy fails.
>
> If I did not remember that all my life long I had thought Today unprofitable and the muses of the Present Hour always unkind I should think myself on this present 21 of July under some ban that nothing tuneful and nothing wise should visit my heart or be spoken by my lips.

He complained of the incurable tendency of his mind to wander:

> The old gentleman in the study wastes, it must be owned, good time; dips a pen in ink, affects to write a little from upper dictation, but presently falls to copying old musty papers—then to reading a little in Plato, a little in the Vedas, then picks his pea vines a little, or waters his melons, or thins his carrots; walks a little, talks a little, and the marvelous day has fled forevermore.

He was the slowest of workers—he spent a week soldering a crack in "Nature"; and he was never satisfied with what he accomplished. "I hope," he wrote in 1841, "I shall one day write something better than those poor cramp arid 'Essays' which I almost hate the sight of."

> I have been at work now for three days and threaten to accomplish somewhat this summer, but I am one of the poorest workmen on earth. I have little at one o'clock to show for my morning.
>
> To write a very little takes a great deal of time, so that if one indulges in that species of dissipation he will have little to show for his solid days. And there are not many greater misfortunes to peace of mind than to have keen susceptibility to the beautiful in composition and just to lack that additional wit which suffices to create it. So shall a man weary himself and spend good oil in vain attempts to carve Apollos which all turn out scarecrows.

There were two facts on which he counted—"that our selves are somebodies, and they may be relied on as good for some performance, and then that our private roots run down into the great Perfection." Again: "I have a top which will spin like the Sisters' Wheel, and it has a poise like a planet and a hum like the spheral music." The problem was to get this top to spin. He was always looking for the external sources from which the "push" might be borrowed. At home he defended his mornings: "Though these precious and guarded mornings are not always better than others, yet if a day comes when you are fit for writing, this

[1] The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, edited by Ralph L. Rusk. New York: The Columbia University Press. Six volumes, 3,177 pages. $30.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

system secures its entire benefit; and it gives every day a better chance, as it defends you from being untuned." He was put to many shifts to rouse the latent dæmon, but travel, to which he was driven to earn a living, and which yielded after-crops, was deadening at the moment. "I have no thoughts, no aims and seem never to have had any," he wrote on one of his journeys. "I must cower down into my own fens again presently and consult the gods anew."

> Traveling, like labor, has no thoughts. Cars and taverns yield no poetry.
>
> After my Broadway residence and experiences now for two or three weeks, I seem to have passed out of a limbo of surfaces, a world which was all surface, to this solid solitude and cubic day which I find at home.

He could write only out of his own inkstand, although sometimes, to get himself "up to the writing temperature," he went for three or four days to a Boston hotel, as once to the beach at Nantasket. It was there, in 1841, that he first discovered the ocean, which had meant little to him in earlier years. One day he went fishing and caught "two haddocks, a cod, a flounder, and a pollock and a perch." He was so delighted with this beach that he thought of returning every summer with a group of his friends. They might live in tents and cabins at the high-water mark.

This was the time when Concord was becoming a center of thinkers and poets, and the letters show more clearly than ever before that Emerson encouraged this tendency. Believing that life was a "search after power," he deplored every waste of energy, and he felt that a "good neighborhood" of minds would stimulate them all to the top of their bent. "It is always a great refreshment," he wrote, "to see a very intelligent person. It is like being set in a large place. You stretch your limbs and dilate to your utmost size." All his friends were talking about the Brook Farm community and, feeling that this was not for him, he proposed to "borrow part of the institution." He hoped to stop the leakage of the continent towards Europe. "Is it not the universal rule for the prevention of rovers and bad husbands to make their home pleasant to them?" Every week he heard of some promising American sailing for Germany or France, Theodore Parker, Appleton, Henry James, Tappan, Simmons or Newcomb, and "every such departure" seemed to him "a virtual postponement of the traveler's own work and endeavor." He felt that the important thing was to get the American genius to work on the "great listless dumb lifeless America," that its attention should be focused on the West—it should cease "preaching America and practising Europe." As he wrote to Margaret Fuller in 1843, "We have been East too long. Now for the West." He disliked Cambridge for this reason:

> I am sorry we come so quickly to the kernel and through the kernel of Cambridge society, but I think I do not know any part of our American life which is so superficial: the Hoosiers, the speculators, the custom-house officers interest us much more. If I had a pocketful of money, I think I should go down the Ohio and up and down the Mississippi by way of antidote to what small remains of the Orientalism—(so endemic in these parts)—there may still be in me, to cast out, I mean, the passion of Europe by the passion for America.

Therefore he could not say enough against the "mild epidemic insanity" of this gazing at Europe and "its tarnished wormy magnificence":

> Even Alcott is brooding on an English tour partly for bibliographic or maniacal and partly for philosophic or maniacal purposes. I plant myself, of course, mastiff-like to bark against the plan.
>
> Ellery is always on tiptoe on the wharf ready to embark, but we shall bark in that direction too. Nothing good in that direction. Everything good in the other direction, homeward.
>
> If there was a solitary stoic in the Rocky Mountains and they had the heart to visit him, I should more gladly hear it.

Actually, he paid Alcott's expenses on a journey to England and, as the letters show, he raised a fund to send Ellery Channing abroad. As for Europe, he wrote, "Nothing but indulgence and a cloying operates a cure." But he felt that an assemblage of minds at Concord—or at Cohasset or in Berkshire—would bank the waters in. It was in 1840 that he planned an informal university at Concord, where he hoped to induce Carlyle to settle; and soon Hawthorne and Alcott, with Thoreau, were there. George William Curtis and Isaac Hecker spent weeks or months in the village, and Parker, Ripley, Hedge and Margaret Fuller were constantly in and out of Emerson's house. The letters add much to our knowledge of this period, with their many new details about The Dial, over which Emerson describes himself as "busy and incessant as the famous fowl with one chicken." There is an amusing letter in which Emerson tells of his efforts to break up Alcott's "parliament" with his English friends. They could not "chat or so much as open the mouth on aught less than A New Solar Day and the prospective Education in the Nebulae"; and he tried to corrupt Charles Lane a little and "fit him for the grosser realities of the Yankee land." But the letters show for the first time how active Emerson was in willing and even creating this meeting of minds.

Of his "practical philanthrophy"—of which he said "a grain too much is instant death or raving distraction"—the letters reveal many cases that were hitherto unknown. His income was always small—he remarks, at the height of his fame, that his books "usually yield five or six hundred dollars a year"—but he was constantly making up purses for friends, speeding them on journeys, giving them checks. Alcott, who was "totally destitute of any lucrative faculty, so far as has yet been discovered," was virtually Emerson's pensioner at various times, though he passed the case on to others—"if you believe as I, that among the things that go to make up the world, there must be one Capuchin, or divine mendicant, and that Alcott is he." He agreed to pay Ellery Channing for one of his books in case no publisher would do so—no publisher did; and he affixed to the contract for publishing his own poems a contract providing for Channing's on the same terms. It was he who took charge of the sale of Fruitlands, on behalf of the helpless proprietors; and he was always negotiating in the name of his friends to get their books published for them. He placed Margaret Fuller's first book, he tried to place Thoreau's, he edited and published Jones Very's, he was an embattled agent for Carlyle. As a "patriot of the Muses' country," amid "all the granite and forest and prairie and superfœtation of millions," he sought for genius and spared no pains to bring it forth. Some of his swans

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turned out geese. He grieved over the "discontinuity" in Ellery Channing's "wires"; Jones Very became "lamentably sane"; and Charles King Newcomb, on whom he had set his heart, lived on for forty years in the blankest silence. He was too prone to take for poetry an absence of conventional traits in a character that seemed to promise much, but his desire for poetry was always a great one:

> My quarrel with most of the verse I read is this, namely, that it is conventional; that it is a certain manner of writing agreed on by society—(in a very select society if you will) and caught by the ear; but it is not that new, constitutional, unimitated and inimitable voice of the individual which poetry ought always to be.

And he had no doubt whatever that the right word found was always sure of its effect:

> The poor old public stand just where they always did—garrulous, orthodox, conservative whilst you say nothing; silent the instant you speak; and perfectly and universally convertible the moment the right word comes.

One has to turn to Emerson's journals to follow the growth of his mind. There one finds more of the seeds that flowered in his writings. The letters complement the journals by revealing the range of a social life that touched most of the elements of his time and country. The little boy of thirteen, who speculated on John Donne and made up riddles in Greek and puns for his brothers, was to survey, in the course of sixty years, a scene that stretched from Egypt to San Francisco; and he encountered most of the eminent minds of this epoch and usually left some sort of comment on them. One of the last of his friendships was with John Muir in California; and along the way the reader falls in with De Quincey, Tyndall, Macaulay, Taine, Grimm, Landor and Arnold. Samuel Rogers appears, with his "cold quiet indiscriminate politeness," and Bryant, who had outlived his poetry—"not a violet left, the field stiff all over with thistles and teasels of politics." In the Senate, Emerson meets Calhoun, and he strolls through the grounds of the White House, at a time when citizens were permitted to climb the steps and look in the windows, if they wished to do so. There are many new details about Emerson's lecturing tours, on one of which he traveled with Horace Greeley. It appears that he was asked to lecture in New Orleans, and he crossed the Mississippi on the ice and often drove over the frozen prairie through sleet-storms, arriving at his tavern at four in the morning. He heard "blue sulphureous preaching" and "the most ominous shaking of Unitarian husks and pods out of which all corn and peas had long fallen"; and he encountered landscapes of a grandeur that drew a man "as by the hair of his head into awe and poetry." One of his longest and most eloquent letters describes the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky. These letters of travel, mostly addressed to his wife and children, abound with homely items and admonitions, to keep an eye, for instance, on the "wild cider barrel." Perhaps, on the whole, the collection is valuable chiefly because of these countless particulars, unknown before. They make much more concrete and real a character whose outlines have been somewhat shadowy and vague. VAN WYCK BROOKS

Books in Review

Low, Jack and the Game

WHAT DO THEY know of England who only England know," caroled Rudyard Kipling or some other minnesinger of Victoria's empire. The words were written when British liberalism—of the "Little Englander" variety, at any rate—knew practically nothing of the hot spots east of Suez or south of Trafalgar. But David Low, the incomparable Low, got his start as a political cartoonist in New Zealand, when he started drawing for The Spectator at the age of eleven in his native town of Christchurch. Low knows the Empire from down under, from inside out, and from the top down. Not that he cares tuppence for imperialism as such. But strange bedfellows peep from every coverlet these days; and even the liberalism of Little Englanders has, by an ironic twist of circumstances, become a prime support of the Empire *status quo*, at least for the short run. No Churchill, David Low can still join hands with the fundamentally reactionary Winnie on the immediate issue of keeping worse imperialists (the Nazis) from hijacking the stolen goods of their betters. The prescriptive right of the inheritors of eighteenth-century robbers is still preferable to the presumptive right of the streamlined gangsters of the twentieth—although neither right can seem very honorable when viewed from the safe distance of New York.

Low's cartoons appear week by week in The London Evening Standard, which is the personal organ of the ineffable Lord Beaverbrook, British isolationist and believer in "Empire Free Trade." Beaverbrook's ideals tally not at all with Low's, yet the noble lord of the press, himself an outlander from New Brunswick, follows Voltaire—and the interests of his cash register—in giving Low a forum. The cartoons selected for "A Cartoon History of Our Times"[1] have, with twenty exceptions, been chosen more or less at random from two collections that have already appeared in England, "Low's Political Parade" and "Low Again." Quincy Howe has provided an introduction in which he confessedly qualifies for the presidency of the Lily Gilders' Union, and each picture is supplied with a running commentary. Both the selection of cartoons and the commentary seem admirable, although I miss the "Hit and Muss on Their Axis" series which appeared, if I remember correctly, in "Low Again." I could also stand considerably more of Colonel Blimp, the walrus-mustached conservative who makes even Neville Chamberlain look like a tool of Moscow.

[1] A Cartoon History of Our Times, by David Low, with an Introduction by Quincy Howe. New York: Simon and Schuster. 173 pages. $2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Most political cartoonists these days are indifferent caricaturists: they deal in stock figures, such as the bearded Uncle Sam, the gracious Marianne, the stocky John Bull and the whiskered Bolshevik. Low is more subtle—and far more accurately devastating. Simply by placing Neville Chamberlain's eye somewhere in the middle of his cheek he contrives to give the master of appeasement a hang-dog, moth-eaten expression that is at least spiritually true. Stanley ("Trust Me") Baldwin takes on a look of porcine dumbness that could only have come from long association with his prize pigs. Lord Halifax, who is currently attempting to exercise his wiles at the expense of the United States (no doubt confusing Cordell Hull with Gandhi), is presented as a gangling bumpkin: he looks for all the world like a slinking pointer that is about to be whipped for stealing a loaf of bread. Hitler is caricatured in the twist that Low gives to his eyes, which are small and staring—a variant of the empty eyes of the comic-strip characters who give me the willies when I pick up "Little Orphan Annie." The prize touches of all, however, are Uncle Hermann Goering dressed as a fat and sluttish Rhine maiden and Little Jup Goebbels peering from beneath the protective legs of Hitler.

With an accurate pen to serve as a tactical weapon, Low can concentrate on the grand strategy of supplying highly imaginative drawings with no fear that he will turn out ambitious flops. His imagination is akin to that of the great line of American political cartoonists: Keppler, Gillam and Thomas Nast, who made such figures as James G. Blaine, the "tattooed man," a by-word in the day of our grandfathers. Although Low's line is much simpler, his pictures of Stanley Baldwin taking the Empire on a "cooked tour" or of Anthony Eden standing up to Mussolini by falling over backwards are on the same imaginative plane, say, as Keppler's cartoon of James A. Garfield as a blushing bride. . . . Garfield is standing at the altar, a willing Republican presidential candidate. But just as the minister is about to pronounce him wife to Uncle Sam, someone rushes in with a baby labeled Credit Mobilier. "But," says Garfield of his alleged financial pecadillo, "it was such a little one." Low thinks in just such truly comic terms; there is never anything stilted to his allegory. And he never goes to the fantastic lengths of The New York Herald Tribune's J. N. Darling to make a political point; his jabs come clear at once.

Moreover, as is not very frequently the case with caricaturists, Low keeps the historical record straight: he knows, as many collective-securityites do not, that the lineage of fascism leads back to Versailles. Does it seem strange that this reviewer, who thinks the United States should keep resolutely clear of engaging in a European war on the side of England, should be praising Low's cartoons in behalf of collective security? If it does, I can only say that I would be on Low's side if I were an Englishman. To an American, collective security often looms as an invitation to pay the bills for a war that Britain and France are quite capable of winning on their own. To an Englishman, the collective system (at least to the extent of lining up with France and the Soviet Union) ought to appear as a simple matter of obeying the law of the conservation of political energy. Isolation and collective security are only means to the same end, which is the preservation of the peace for one's own country. Whether you will favor one means or another depends entirely on questions of geography. Britain, having set herself up as regulator of half the habited globe, cannot afford to lose face. And British liberals cannot afford to let the Empire down, for if England loses a war they will have no chance to bring about a *democratic* end to British imperialism. The United States, on the other hand, is not setting up these days to rule anybody except a few Filipinos (on a short-term lease) and some Virgin Islanders. The difference boils down to this: if you have collected you need collective security; if you go abroad without cumbersome loot you can trust to your feet and wits and your own good gat to get yourself out of difficulties.

With such distinctions in mind, Low's cartoons can be taken for what they are, a British liberal's delightfully acerb critique of Tory muddlement. They are history as it must appear to a sane eye from the particular vantage point of London, a city that has risen (figuratively) from the sea. As such, they are magnificent. But I wish that Quincy Howe had made my particular point. For Low, too, expects every American to do his duty; and the very success of these Low cartoons makes it doubly necessary for an American to be on his guard. We need a Low of our own to caricature events as they appear, say, to Charles A. Beard. Or, rather, we need a Gillam or a Keppler or a Thomas Nast to spring to the cartoon defense of our traditional continental policy of Jefferson and James Monroe—the only sensible policy for a nation that is practically a hemisphere on its own.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Sense About Race

Race Against Man, by Herbert J. Seligmann. Introduction by Dr. Franz Boas. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 260 pages. $2.75.
Race: A History of Modern Ethnic Theories, by Louis L. Snyder. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. The Alliance Book Corporation. 352 pages. $3.
The Races of Europe, by Carleton Stevens Coon. New York: The Macmillan Company. 755 pages, illustrated. $7.

MR. SELIGMANN, whose lively and vigorous book comes to us with the blessings of a veteran in the long struggle for racial tolerance, has chosen—wisely, I think—to handle his subject with the gloves off. Without neglecting the demands of scholarship and scientific evidence, he gives us a forthright polemic against the sophistries of "race thinking" from the pompous Comte de Gobineau to the fanatical excesses of "Nordidiocy" under Adolf Hitler. Nor does he hesitate to draw from his admirably organized material the conclusion that "there are men enough in the world today who would maintain their economic advantage at the price of open human slavery. It is these men who are served by the doctrine of 'racism.'"

For Mr. Seligmann, as for the French authority, Théophile Simar, these doctrines have a class origin that can be traced, in one form or another, from the helot economy of Sparta to the institution of Negro slavery in the United States. A minority, in order to have and to hold political power, required a subtle demagogy capable of paralyzing resistance and disrupting organized revolt. The idea of "Race," embroidered with an incredible profusion of in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tellectual, cultural, psychological and ethical apologetics, rapidly developed into the historical monstrosity whose principal features are so vividly revealed in Mr. Seligmann's pages.

It is true that much of this ground has been ably covered by such men as F. H. Hankins, Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon, Jacques Barzun and J. B. S. Haldane—to name only a few of the more recent contributions. Mr. Seligmann's distinction is to have taken much that is familiar to students of a vast literature, and to have brought it right down to earth where the ordinary man or woman of good will can get hold of it and use it with concrete effect when the recurrent nonsense about "race" becomes intolerable.

Take, for example, the series of four chapters in which are presented the essential biological, genetic and anthropological facts about human groups. Under scientific analysis, a complicated apparatus of "classifications," "types," "varieties," "hybrids" and the like, each with its alleged innate characteristics, breaks down into a small cluster of elements none of which is adequately understood. In a particularly cogent discussion of "heredity as fate" and of "miscegenation," the presumed scientific basis of superior and inferior peoples is narrowed to the proverbial needlepoint—on which, however, several thousand eugenic angels still manage to dance.

I want especially to commend the author's two rather short but invigorating chapters on anti-Semitism and the American Negro. Here, indeed, is where we can see "racism" at its worse and most degenerate, acting in the one case to exterminate and in the other to enslave.

The historical material in Mr. Seligmann's book is given much fuller treatment in Dr. Snyder's survey of race theories. Written for the layman and for the definite purpose of exposing the intellectual and social roots of contemporary race hysteria, this volume adds little to what is already known on the subject. Its value is that of a tract for the times. For American readers the chapters on "Race and Imperialism" and "Racialism in the United States" should prove a wholesome corrective to the illusion that "it can't happen here." There is a useful section on the various "Pan" movements (Pan-Slavism, Pan-Africanism, etc.), illustrating the wide prevalence of race-snobbery among human groups, an excellent resumé of the Nordic delusion in Germany, a cogent discussion of anti-Semitism and a final warning that the race problem will be solved only when the underlying socio-political causes are eliminated.

What these two books can and should be to the man in the street, Dr. Coon's impressive monograph will be for the specialist in physical anthropology. Dedicated appropriately to William Z. Ripley, whose classic work of the same name was published just forty years ago, "The Races of Europe," will definitely take its place as the most comprehensive technical study of human types available in English.

As such, its vast stores of minute information about every known human stock; its array of tables, data, maps and "type-pictures"; and its elaborate documentation on biological, geographic and linguistic problems, make it at once a forbidding book to read and an indispensable authority to consult. It is, however, unfortunate that Dr. Coon did not follow his great predecessor on the wider aspects of his subject, adding chapters dealing with the social environment, with urbanization, racial variations in disease and acclimatization—perhaps even a terminal essay on the political significance of physical anthropology.

HAROLD WARD

Changing the World

The Changing World in Plays and Theatre, by Anita Block. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 463 pages. $2.75.

"THE INTELLECT of the generality of women seems more to fortify their folly than their reason," says La Rochefoucauld. His statement would no longer be applied to women in general, but it might well be applied to Anita Block. Foolishly and flatly opinionated, warped out of all proportion by a devotion to the cause of "integration," this book yet contrives to serve a purpose for students of drama much in the same way (and ironically enough) that Mr. Burns Mantle's efforts do. It is a reader's guide, a digest, for well over a hundred modern plays of all countries. In this respect alone might the book be of value for teachers and students.

If, however, an edition could be printed omitting completely the author's opinions on the dramas she considers, it would be a far safer compilation to put in the hands of drama-minded people, and would certainly reduce considerably the amount of hysteria it is now certain to induce in certain cause-mothering club-groups. For Mrs. Block is a woman with a cause—the cause of social significance and integration with one's age—and in her book she has ridden that cause to death. More than one living playwright must have been surprised or flattered to find the extent of his integration as explained in this book, and many observers of the development of drama severely shocked at the "daring," but unfounded as to fact, revaluation of the position and worth—and more than this, "the true meaning"—of the plays and playwrights considered.

To consider some examples: In a chapter entitled "Conflict with Changing Sexual Standards" she says in discussing "The Constant Wife," "Maugham . . . is not sufficiently appreciated as a penetrating social analyst." Says Maugham in the preface to a volume of six of his plays (included is "The Constant Wife"): "I cannot persuade myself that the drama can usefully concern itself with the welfare of humanity or the saving of civilization." Drama can, he says, "give pleasure by telling a story, delineating character and by stirring the emotions or causing laughter. It is with these intentions that the plays in this volume were written." But, willy-nilly, Maugham is "integrated." Mrs. Block declares, after comparing the wife in the play to Ibsen's Nora, ". . . as the playwright brilliantly demonstrates, the economic independence of the wife not only causes her rejection of the double standard of sexual morality, but her new freedom imposes on the husband his rejection of the outworn code as well."

To demonstrate O'Neill's "integration with his time" she says: "In the Scopes case of 1925, a teacher of Science in a Tennessee high school, charged . . . with . . . the teaching of the theory of evolution in the public schools was con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

victed. . . . And it is evidence of O'Neill's integration with his time that in that year he stated his own faith, his philosophy of life, death and immortality, in 'Lazarus Laughed.' "

In Chekhov's "The Cherry Orchard" she makes the student Trofimov the proclaimer of the new social order by quotations of parts of his speeches. Anyone who has read the play—especially in Russian—knows that Chekhov intended Trofimov to be taken as an opinionated fanatic, a crackpot who talks nonsense.

In a chapter, "Conclusions in a Changing World," the Federal Theatre, state-subsidized, is held up as the hope of the American drama and in an explanatory footnote the state-subsidized state and national theatres of Europe are disposed of as "art theatres, without social significance."

Examples multiply. Mrs. Block is sex-conscious, social-conscious, women's-rights-conscious, individual-conflict-conscious—conscious of everything, in fact, but that her opinions are sententious, and expressed in a style full of clichés, and based on an almost hysterical disregard for facts.

RICHARD O'CONNELL

Lamb Among the Wolves

Mr. Emmanuel, by Louis Golding. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

HAVING CHERISHED Magnolia Street since he founded it seven years ago, Louis Golding returns this time to consider its gentlest resident. In "Magnolia Street" his Mr. Emmanuel tried nothing more ticklish than smoothing out bad feeling between the Jews on one side of the street and Gentiles on the other. But here, putting his faith in God and the British Foreign Office, he sets out for Nazi Germany in search of the mother of a refugee boy.

It turns out to be a fearful trip indeed—and probably its strangest aspect is Mr. E.'s naïve surprise that it should be so. After a few weeks in Germany, his own muddled efforts, plus a Nazi talent for bagging small game, land him in a concentration camp, where his passport comes in about as handy as his Jewish ancestors. His imprisonment might be shorter, for the reader's sake as well as the old gentleman's. But even here, where indignation threatens to cloud the story, the author keeps his portrait well in hand. Mr. Emmanuel's sing-song accent, his eagerness to discover that under the uniforms everyone has a real Jewish heart God should bless him, his habit of rising courteously for "Heil Hitlers" as he would rise, say, for the "Marseillaise"—these establish him so clearly that he remains intact even after some understandable bitterness has crept into his shy good nature.

If, however, all this doesn't hold much weight as an anti-Nazi indictment, that doesn't make it a failure. Mr. Emmanuel has neither the dignity nor stature to play the lead in an imposing, angry novel. He can carry off a readable one, though, far better than you'd expect from a mild little gentleman nearing seventy. The point that readers will get here is not the need for getting Hitler out of the way, but the advisability of keeping the Mr. Emmanuels out of Hitler's way. Mr. Golding's hero was never meant to save the world. He's doing plenty if he saves his own peculiar brand of wistful, impractical sweetness.

MIRIAM BORGENICHT

IMMORAL—OR IMMORTAL?

The literary and critical world has been quick to deplore the recent banning of the French film, "Harvest," by the New York censors. Jean Giono's sensitive and realistic novel is being widely acclaimed as another masterpiece from one of France's major pens. The film—a faithful adaptation—is perhaps its own best defense, as these reviews suggest:

"*. . . a masterpiece . . . an enduring work of art.*"
—NEW YORK TIMES

"*. . . an exceptional picture . . . has a remarkable spiritual depth of feeling. . . .*"
—THE NATIONAL BOARD OF REVIEW

"*A ban that must be rescinded . . . the intelligent movie-going public cannot afford to miss a picture of such elemental and profound truth.*"
—NEW YORK POST

"*. . . simple and inspiring story. . . .*"
—HARRY HANSEN

"*. . . wihout doubt one of the few films that can be classed as art. . . .*" —THE NATION

Read the book on which the picture is based

HARVEST

The Novel by JEAN GIONO

THE VIKING PRESS $2.50

DISCOVER
SOVIET RUSSIA

At a Time When Travel in Europe Is Most Pleasant—Most Interesting—Most Reasonable

SPECIAL FALL FEATURES — ALL UNION AGRICULTURAL EXPOSITION — PAGEANTS OF SOVIET THEATRE AND BALLET — NOVEMBER CELEBRATIONS IN MOSCOW — VACATION on SUN BATHED CRIMEAN RIVIERA

A Series of Attractively Planned and Reasonably Priced Trips. Sailing thru the Fall on Steamers of Leading Lines

VISITS INCLUDED ALSO TO
LONDON • PARIS • WARSAW
SCANDINAVIA

32 DAYS ALL EXPENSE $268 3rd on Ships Tourist Slightly Higher

For Descriptive Folder "R" Apply

COMPASS TRAVEL BUREAU 55 W. 42 St., N. Y. C. LOngacre 5-3070

Beginning soon in the
NEW REPUBLIC

JOHN
CHAMBERLAIN'S

Provocative series of five articles

Blueprints for a New Society

Subscription form on inside back cover

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Books: A Reader's List

THE WAY FORWARD, by Francis Bowes Sayre (Macmillan, $2.75). A review of the American trade-agreements program—its set-up, its operation, its accomplishments in advancing international trade by freeing it from the paralysis of excessive tariffs—by the former Assistant Secretary of State.

HENRY, KING OF NAVARRE, by Heinrich Mann (Knopf, $3). "Young Henry of Navarre" on the throne of France, fighting for the security of his kingdom, maneuvering for religious liberty against the intricate mesh of Empire and Papacy, trying to dodge the consequences of his own amorous involvements. Fictional history in the grand manner, overembroidered in phrase and incident, by a conscientious and scholarly hero-worshiper.

OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND HOW IT FUNCTIONS, by Members of the Federal Writers' Project (Hastings House, $1.75). History and functions of Congress, the judiciary, executive branch and the various federal agencies, with a description of their general structure and perspectives. Up to the usual high level of works produced by the Federal Writers' Project.

LOVE IN OUR TIME, by Norman Collins (Harpers, $2.50). A neatly handled picture of life in London's newest suburbs: fake Tudor houses, hire-purchase Empire furniture, keeping up with the Joneses, etc. Has some good character studies and makes its depressing points in a quiet, semi-detached style.

Contributors

MORDECAI EZEKIEL, economic adviser to Secretary Wallace and a member of the Department of Agriculture, has written many textbooks, pamphlets and statistical studies about the farmer. His latest book, "Jobs for All," was published in January of this year.

GENEVIEVE TABOUIS, foreign editor of L'Oeuvre, in Paris, is generally regarded as the foremost woman journalist in Europe. Her articles which will appear regularly in The New Republic are published through an arrangement with Press Alliance, Inc., New York.

WALDO COOK, the dean of New England journalists, is editor of The Springfield Republican.

GEORGE WELLER, a former member of the staff of The New York Times, has written many articles on political problems in Southeastern Europe.

LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH has been a correspondent in Spain for The New York Times and The London Times.

THEODORE DRAPER has been on the editorial staff of The New Masses and The Daily Worker.

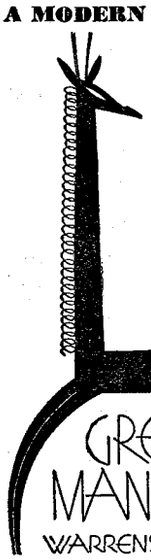
VAN WYCK BROOKS, the distinguished critic and author, is writing a literary history of the United States of which "The Flowering of New England" was one of the volumes.

HAROLD WARD has contributed frequent articles to The Living Age, The New Masses, The New York Times and various other periodicals.

RICHARD L. O'CONNELL is teaching drama at the College of Fine Arts of the University of Texas.

MIRIAM BORGENICHT is a free-lance writer who lives in New York City.

GREEN MANSIONS
A MODERN CAMP FOR ADULTS



- Log Cabin Club-House. *Each room with private bath*
- Private Golf Course on Premises
- Championship Tennis Courts
- All other sports facilities
- Complete Theater
- Clavier Piano Quartet

LENA BARISH : SAM GARLEN *Directors*

New York City Office: 11 W. 42 St.
Telephone: BRyant 9-1738
Write or phone for Booklet

GREEN MANSIONS
WARRENSBURG N.Y.

OPERATING UNDER A CLOSED SHOP AGREEMENT

ECHO LAKE LODGE
A Camp for Adults
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
Warrensburg N.Y.

"VOLUMINOUS LIVING"
All Critics Acclaim Echo Lake Lodge Best Seller in Summer Resorts
Booklet "R" on request
REBECCA B. NUDELL
MOE NUDELL

BIRDLAND
CENTRAL VALLEY, NEW YORK—OPEN ALL YEAR
(Formerly Lewisohn's Estate)
40 miles from N. Y. 225 acres of woodland-mountains. Tennis, Golf, Handball and Riding. Library. Congenial atmosphere, excellent cuisine. Adults. Tel.: Highland Mills 7895. Mgt. FANNIE GOLDBERG.

FRIENDLY
AND INFORMAL
7 Tennis Courts—FREE GOLF
Plays and original revues of significance, featuring Stars of "Keynote" and "TAC."
Lyrics by Al Hayes and Earl Robinson ("Abe Lincoln and Joe Hill")
N. Y. Office
1450 Broadway
LO 3-5441
RATES from $25.00
UNION HOUSE

SOUTH WIND
WOODBOURNE, N. Y.
Informal Adult Camp—Hotel Facilities
Private Lake—All Land and Water Sports
Fast Clay Tennis Courts
Cultural Activities—Recorded Concerts
Intimate Theatre

ZINDOREST PARK
MONROE, N. Y. PHONE 7755
Formerly a millionaire's estate.
150 acres of most beautiful country.
All modern equipment and all facilities for sports. Make early reservations.
OPEN ALL YEAR

VERMONT VACATION
UNSPOILED VERMONT! Peace and beauty high in Green Mountains with small group. $15-$18 a week. Write to Reland Grey, Ethan Allen Farm, R. F. D. 2, Chester, Vt.

POSITIONS WANTED

VIRGINIAN, 32, artist-writer-photographer, tired of reactionary State politics, poverty and laissez-faire, would migrate to a more literate and progressive region. Pro-labor and sense of humor. Address: Box 167, The New Republic.

SECRETARY, New York or Philadelphia, twelve years legal, medical, business, social experience. Bryn Mawr A.B., Mature. Adequate salary. Address: Box 170, The New Republic.

APARTMENTS FOR RENT

BLEECKER GARDENS: 11th & Bleecker Streets. Large triplex, 7 rooms, 3 baths, spacious, attractive; opening on garden. Also 2-room kitchenette, bath, facing garden. Garden playground available; other community advantages. Telephone: WOrth 2-4820 or write, Room 3403 Woolworth Building, New York.

ROOM FOR RENT

FURNISHED ROOM or two in Knickerbocker Village, with private family of two adults. Address: Box 169, The New Republic.

MOTOR TRIP

WANTED: Transportation to California for two people. Share expenses. Leaving August 20-25. Vicinity New York or Philadelphia. Address: Box 168, The New Republic.

FOR SALE

BERKSHIRE HILLS. Farm house, 6 rooms. Bath. Open fireplaces. 200 acres. Brook. 7 acre lake. 1,700 feet altitude. Lovely view. $4,600. Terms. Houghton, 12 East 41st Street. LE 2-9600.

BOOKLET

JEWS, CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS should adopt an Evolutionary Philosophy if Biblical doctrines are myths. Free from The Arbitrator, 114 E. 31st St., N. Y. C.

SOCIAL CLUB

NEW Contacts—thru our Personal Service dedicated to the promotion of friendships. Discriminating clientelle. Write or phone.
AMERICAN SERVICE
3140-N Godwin Terrace New York City
Telephone: KIngsbridge 6-2921

CORRESPONDENCE CLUB

HAPPINESS CIRCLE, the best anodyne for the lack of camaraderie. Enclose stamped envelope for details. Dept. W., Box 107, Grand Central Annex, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED